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ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

VOL. IV. 1802-1914

A HISTORY OF

ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By ARTHUR D. INNES

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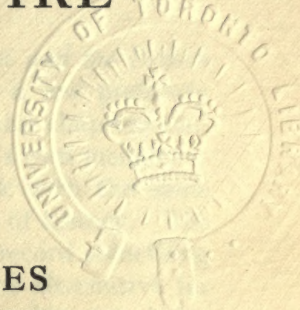
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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN FOUR VOLUMES



BY

ARTHUR D. INNES

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AUTHOR OF 'ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT'
'A SKETCH OF GENERAL POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES'
'AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH HISTORY,' 'ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS'
'SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND'

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PREFACE

THE completion of the *History of England and the British Empire* down to the year 1914 calls for a few prefatory words to this, the fourth, volume. The later chapters contain the record of events within the writer's own memory—events of which it is impossible to speak with the same detachment as in picturing earlier periods of history. The natural temptation is to make of such a record something in the nature of a political pamphlet. The alternative for the writer is to abstain from pronouncing his own judgments on controversial questions, and to endeavour to set forth an exact statement of facts and a correct exposition of the varying views taken of those facts by intelligent and honest members of all political parties. This is the course which he has adopted, his purpose being not to impress his own views upon the reader, but to enable the student to form an unbiassed opinion for himself. As the questions discussed become more and more such as are or have been very recently of an exceedingly intimate interest, it has become increasingly difficult to enter into details; and the whole of the last chapter can only be regarded as a summary and an epilogue expressed with such impartiality as is possible in the circumstances. The commencement of the great war on which we are now engaged has provided a very definite terminus. Not less decisively than the birth of the French Revolution, it is the opening of a new phase in the history of the European nations. Not until the war is over and the terms of peace have been dictated by the victorious powers, will it be possible to apply historical treatment to the Æschylean drama which is now unfolding itself.

Certain comments which have been passed upon the present volume while in MS. suggest that a note may be advisable regarding the author's use of the terms Britain and England, British and English. 'English' is the recognised name of our common language and literature; otherwise it is a term strictly appropriate only to what is specifically English as distinguished from what is specifically Scottish or Irish. 'England,' on the other hand, not as a political but as a geographical term, appears to be legitimately used both in the specific sense and when the only strictly correct (but extremely pedantic and inconvenient) alternatives would be 'The British Isles' or 'The United Kingdom.' 'British,' not 'English,' is the term applied to the Imperial Government, policy, navies, and armies; and 'Britain' or 'Great Britain,' not 'England,' to the Imperial State—properly so from the time of the incorporation of the hitherto separate and often antagonistic States of England and Scotland as the single State of Great Britain. There is no adequate reason for the somewhat discourteous practice of most English writers, who habitually ignore the susceptibilities of Irishmen or Scots by persistently calling Irish and Scottish regiments 'English' troops, the parliament of the United Kingdom the 'English' parliament, and the Imperial Government 'England.' A pedantic scrupulosity in the observance of rule need not be insisted upon. It is neither unreasonable nor unnatural that the name of the predominant partner should occasionally be used as an alternative to the correct name of the firm; it is probable enough that the author will be found to have sometimes neglected the strict observance of his regular practice. But except in the case of a few possible lapses, the author has used the word 'England' when he means England, the country, not the British State, and 'English' when he means English, not British.

A. D. INNES.

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CORRIGENDUM

Vol. iv. p. 286, *for* 'Holmes,' *read* 'Home.'

CHAPTER I. THE WAR WITH THE FRENCH EMPIRE

I. The Truce and the Rupture, 1802-1803

The Peace of Amiens, negotiated for the Addington ministry mainly by Cornwallis, was subjected to sharp criticism. The general feeling was summarised by Sheridan when he said that it was 'A peace which all men are glad of but no one can be proud of.' For the sake of peace, Britain had surrendered a good deal and France nothing. The attacks came chiefly from Grenville and from the Portland Whigs, Spencer and Windham, distrust of the intentions of the French government being really at the root of the opposition. The country, in fact, was grievously in need of peace, though it had shown an extraordinary capacity for bearing the strain of the war. The National Debt had doubled since 1783, as in 1783 it had doubled since 1763. The population, suffering from the dislocation of employment accompanying the rural and industrial revolutions, had been brought to a state of more acute distress by the immense rise in the price of food-stuffs consequent upon the war. Wheat had risen to a hundred and twelve shillings, whereas before it had rarely been as high as fifty shillings, and had never exceeded sixty-four. The merchants looked forward to great profits when the course of trade should no longer be interrupted. The country generally, therefore, was glad to acquiesce in any peace which seemed to promise security and the opportunity of recuperation. There was at least a *prima facie* presumption that a really stable government had been established in France, and that if the intentions of that government were pacific a long era of peace was at hand.

The Peace of Amiens.

But were the intentions of that government pacific? Napoleon,

who formally adopted the monarchical custom of using his Christian name, after his position as First Consul was confirmed to him for life in the August following the peace, had a great task before him in the reorganisation of France, and might well have been anxious to devote the whole of his energies to that work. Nevertheless, it would be difficult for any man with a military genius such as his to set a limit to his own ambition, to turn from the exercise of the art of war, in which he had been so triumphant, and to confine himself to the interests of the organiser and administrator. It is particularly difficult for one who by the brilliant achievements of his sword has won his way to the supreme power in the state, raising his own country to unprecedented heights of martial glory, to abstain from securing his supremacy by further feats of arms. Even if Napoleon had honestly determined to seek peace and avoid war it is doubtful whether he could have kept to his resolve, doubtful whether he could have resisted the temptation to assert dubious claims supported by the material argument of invincible legions. And facts point to the irresistible conclusion that the only kind of peace which he would have allowed to be permanent would have demanded the submission of all Europe to his dictation, or, at least, such as would have ruled Britain out of any voice in European affairs.

Doubts of its permanency.

It was at least impossible for the British government to feel assured that the peace would be permanent or was intended to be permanent. Causes of friction had not been removed. Almost at the last moment, Napoleon had ruffled British nerves, by accepting for himself the presidency of what was thereafter known as the Italian Republic, hitherto styled Cisalpine. Napoleon was ruffled by the liberty allowed to the *émigrés* in England, of making the grossest attacks upon him in the English press. Britain had abstained from including in the terms of the peace any demands as to the relations between France and the various republics which had been practically her creation, or with regard to the minor German states; aggressive action by France in those quarters would carry with it a menace of further aggressive intentions; yet

Causes of friction.

France might resent any British protest on the subject, on the plea that it was none of Britain's business. There was no stipulation for a commercial treaty; and to British dismay, there was no sign of any intention on the part of France to relax her efforts for maintaining commercial barriers between Britain and Europe. Finally, Britain had agreed to the evacuation of Malta and its restoration to the Knights of St. John, conditionally upon the common guarantee of the powers for its neutrality; but the actual guarantee had not yet been obtained.

Evasions of treaty obligations.

Consequently, after the treaty, Britain made no haste to evacuate Malta, wherein she was obviously within her rights, but she also delayed to restore the French towns which had been seized in India, and to withdraw her troops from Egypt. This was in fact a technical breach of the terms of the treaty, in defence of which it could only be urged that grave suspicion of Napoleon's intentions was warranted by his actions. In the autumn, Napoleon having been made First Consul for life, France annexed Piedmont and practically compelled the Helvetic republic to adopt a constitution, placing it under French control. The secularisation and redistribution of the territories of the West German princes was proceeding apace, and the hand which guided it was obviously that of France. Yet none of these things were breaches of the Treaty of Amiens. French commercial agents were visiting Ireland and the Levant; it was more than suspected that their purposes and the reports they were preparing were much more political than commercial in character. Instructions for these agents which fell into the hands of the British government desired them to furnish information about the ports, which seemed to imply hostile intentions. In January 1803, was published the report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been officially sent to the Levant; it was chiefly concerned to explain how easy would be the recovery of Egypt by France. The persistent retention of French troops in Holland could not in Britain be regarded with equanimity, and protests from Britain were met with the answer that these proceedings were no contraven-

tion of the Treaty of Amiens, and with counter-protests against the standing grievance of the scurrilous attacks upon the First Consul issued in the London press by the French *émigrés*.

Technical justification of France.

If then we endeavour to divest ourselves of the almost irresistible disposition of the natural man, to read sinister motives into the action of opponents while repudiating corresponding insinuations against his friends, the case may still be fairly stated on this wise. Terms had been arrived at for the Treaty of Amiens under which the British made certain definite engagements, having certain understandings in view; but the superior diplomatic skill of the French foreign minister, Talleyrand, prevented them from obtaining any guarantee for those understandings, under the treaty. If the British carried out their engagements, they would be placed at a serious disadvantage in the event of a renewal of hostilities, unless France acted upon those understandings which had not been guaranteed, but had been in the minds of the British when they made their engagements. France, on the other hand, declined to give any consideration to those understandings; and in view of the hostile intent implied by the action of France as interpreted by the British, the British evaded the carrying out of their engagements without further security. Napoleon stood by the letter of the agreement, regarded the demand for further security as a breach of faith, and took measures to strengthen his position in the event of a renewal of the fighting.

Moral justification of Britain.

So far, on purely technical grounds, Napoleon had the best of the argument; but when the security of a state is at stake, its action cannot be governed by purely technical considerations. What the British saw was that after the peace had been made Napoleon was engaged in securing complete control for France over Holland, Switzerland and North Italy; and, by February 1803, over the principalities of Western Germany. It was vain for Napoleon to pretend that these matters were no concern of the British; the domination of all these states by an unfriendly power was very much their concern. There was no question at all that the peace had been made on both sides on the hypothesis that it was intended to be

a permanent settlement. Napoleon knew perfectly well that the policy he was carrying out in Western Europe was incompatible with the permanence of the settlement; therefore from the British point of view, his actions were a moral though not a technical violation of the treaty, warranting its technical violation by a delay in carrying out the British engagements. The British case became all the stronger with the discovery of evidence pointing to a more definitely hostile intent. With relation to Egypt in particular, the publication of Sebastiani's report carried the conviction that the moment Britain fulfilled her engagement and evacuated Alexandria, France would drop the mask, break her own engagement, and occupy Egypt herself.

In plain terms, Napoleon's determination, which was manifest, to make all Western Europe dependent upon France, necessitated his insistence upon the doctrine that Western Europe was no concern of Britain. The security of Britain necessitated her insistence upon her right to a voice in the settlement of Western Europe, although that right had not been formally asserted in the Treaty of Amiens. These two incompatible positions must almost in any case have led to a renewal of the war; but behind them lay the French conviction that the British were actuated by hostility to France and the British conviction that the French were actuated by hostility to Britain, which made a rupture certain. By March 1803, the Addington government was so convinced of the menace of war, that the king's message to parliament called for military preparations in view of the hostile preparations which were in progress in the French ports.

A breach inevitable.

The result of the king's message was an explosive scene between the First Consul and the British ambassador, Whitworth, at the Tuileries. The actual rupture, however, was still deferred for a couple of months. On May 12th diplomatic relations were broken off; on the 18th war was declared. Immediately afterwards all British subjects in the French dominions were seized and thrown into prison as prisoners of war, a violation of all recognised custom, which emphasised the bitterness with which the renewed struggle was to be waged.

1803. War declared, May.

Both in France and in England it was recognised at this time that there must be a fight to a finish. The evidence of the whole career of Napoleon points to the conclusion that he regarded the British power throughout as the grand obstacle to the achievement of his own ambition, which was the establishment not merely of France as the ascendant power in Europe, but of his own unqualified supremacy, and that, consequently, the ruin of the British empire was the primary object which he held in view. It is not easy to doubt that it was his deliberate intention to use the Peace of Amiens first for the consolidation of his control, as yet incomplete, over Western Europe, and then to apply himself to the annihilation of the British commercial supremacy, upon which rested the power of the British empire. This was not apparent when the Peace of Amiens was made, because it was assumed in England that there were to be no further alterations in the map of Europe. When Napoleon chose to treat that assumption as unwarranted, it became practically impossible to doubt the fundamentally anti-British character of his ambitions; and it is impossible to doubt them now, in the light of his subsequent operations. It may be true that he did not intend to provoke war, as it is certainly true that the British government did not intend to provoke war. But if so, it was only on the hypothesis that he would be able to effect the ruin of the British empire without going to war; and the British nation was fully determined to fight in order to avert that catastrophe.

Napoleon's aims.

Yet it is one thing to declare war, and another to make war effective. While each of the two combatants was fighting single-handed, each might bring painful pressure to bear on the other, but neither could strike a crushing blow. In the British isles, there were scarcely more than fifty thousand troops available, though the material was there for raising a force of perhaps half a million for home defence. But these were not troops which could be employed for striking on land at France with her large armies of veterans under the command of the greatest of soldiers. It was equally impossible for Napoleon to use his armies to strike at England, unless he

Armies and fleets.

could obtain at least a temporary command of the sea, and there was no chance of his achieving that object by any direct blow to the superior British fleet. In effect all that Britain could do was to prevent French ships from coming out of French or Dutch ports, and to take possession of French or Dutch islands —since for all practical purposes Holland was now a part of France. All that Napoleon could do was to shut British commerce out of French and Dutch ports, and endeavour to frighten England by menaces of invasion.

On the other hand, there was no immediate prospect of movement on the part of other powers. Austria might have taken alarm at Napoleon's policy in Western Germany, yet her assent to it was already assured. The Tsar was satisfied by the advantages which Napoleon had been careful to secure to the states in which Alexander was personally interested, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden. Prussia's acquiescence followed upon her hopes of compensation for herself in Hanover. Russia, too, was annoyed by the British refusal to evacuate Malta. Since France retained her hold on Otranto in Southern Italy, the Bourbon king of the Sicilies was too much afraid of her to make common cause with the British; and if the Bourbon king of Spain was not unlikely to be seduced into a French alliance for the same reasons as in the past, yet at the moment Spain had no excuse for intervention and was not in a due state of preparation for a maritime war.

Europe quiescent.

II. The Struggle: First Phase, May 1803-January 1806

The war, when it opened, was on the part of Great Britain a purely defensive one. She could not strike hard, however earnestly she might desire to do so. She could secure her domination in the West Indies by again seizing St. Lucia, a position strategically of the highest value. She could, and did extend her domination by occupying French and Dutch islands, a process which involved considerable expense and the dispatch of troops which, considering the small numbers of her army, it might have been wiser to keep at home. The principal gain in fact lay in the seizure of harbours which

The West Indies.

would otherwise have sheltered innumerable privateers engaged in the harrying of British commerce.

But for Napoleon the grand object was to find an opportunity for striking; for the British, to prevent him from doing so.

The army of Boulogne. Napoleon set himself to developing a grand scheme of invasion, the British to ensuring that any such scheme should be abortive. At Boulogne and neighbouring ports, Napoleon gathered flotillas of flat-bottomed boats for transport, and troops to be ready for embarkation—in the vain hope that they could be carried to England, and effect an immediate conquest, if only the Channel could be cleared of British warships for three days or even for twenty-four hours. That 'if' was the vital point. For the British fleet was standing on guard, and had no intention of allowing itself to be either forced or beguiled into leaving an open passage.

It does not appear that the Admiralty at any time had a shadow of doubt regarding the ability of the Navy to frustrate any possible attempt at invasion. But confidence on the part of the Admiralty was no more sufficient to satisfy popular anxiety than had been the confidence of Elizabeth's mariners in the days of the Armada. There must be an army to meet the invader, if he should succeed in effecting a landing. It was well that the naval authorities should be confident, since they had the best of reasons for their confidence; it was well also that the nervousness of those who understood the situation clearly should be allayed; and it was emphatically well that the manhood of the country should be zealous to answer the call to arms, so long as the chance of invasion existed, however infinitesimal. Volunteers were enrolled to the number of three hundred thousand before the war had been in progress for much more than three months.

The volunteers.

The Addington ministry possessed the advantage that the king was on better terms with the prime minister than with any of his predecessors since North had quitted office in 1782. At the same time, by no stretch of imagination could the ministry be called a strong one; its intentions were excellent, but it was surrounded by

1802-3. The Addington ministry.

critics, of greater ability than most of its members, who resented its existence. A feeling grew that the 'Pilot who had weathered the storm' should return to his post. An abortive insurrection in Ireland, headed by Robert Emmett, whose brother Thomas had been one of the persons seized before the outbreak of the Rebellion of '98, gives some point to the view that Pitt ought to have stipulated for the completion of his own Irish policy as a condition of his return to office. Nevertheless he was probably right in considering that the king would have remained obdurate upon the point. That the king was hopelessly wrongheaded, does not alter the fact that the thing had become with him a matter of conscience, and he would have resigned his crown rather than give way. Addington himself wished for Pitt's return, and had opened negotiations with him towards the end of the year 1802. Pitt, however, required not only that he should himself resume his old position, but that Grenville and others who had resigned with him should also return to the ministry. Grenville, again, made it a condition that Addington should retire. Pitt's terms were rejected in April 1803 by the Addington cabinet, a month before the declaration of war.

Pitt's relations with the ministry, which he had hitherto supported though only after a lukewarm fashion, now became increasingly chilly. In the spring of 1804, his criticism of the government began to sound a distinctly hostile note. By this time Grenville and Fox were uniting their forces, and both supported Pitt. Ministers came near to being defeated in the House of Commons. At the end of April, Pitt submitted his own view of the situation to the king, who had only just recovered from his third serious brain-attack. At the same moment Addington resigned. George invited Pitt to submit his plans for a new ministry; Pitt proposed a joint ministry which should include both Grenville and Fox. The king rejected Fox personally, and would only accept Grenville if a pledge were given that the question of Catholic emancipation should not be raised. Fox did not wish his own exclusion to stand in the way; but neither Fox's followers nor Grenville and his followers would join without Fox. Pitt, however, had come

1804. Pitt returns, May.

to the conclusion, first, that the Addington ministry under Addington's leadership was incompetent; secondly, that it was impossible under existing conditions to force Fox upon the king; thirdly, that the crisis demanded his own return to the helm. In the new ministry which the king accepted, Pitt with his personal followers such as Dundas, now Viscount Melville, took the places of Addington and his immediate followers, while others, such as the chancellor, Lord Eldon, Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards earl of Liverpool), Pitt's brother, Lord Chatham, and Castlereagh, remained. Pitt returned to office at the precise moment when Napoleon was proclaimed no longer First Consul of the French republic, but Emperor of the French (May 1804).

Watching and waiting.

The war had now been in progress just twelve months. Apart from the mustering of armies of invasion, the first definite step taken by France had been the occupation of Hanover. But since the days of George II., British governments had ceased to be susceptible to attacks upon Hanover; the object of the French was to enable themselves to dangle the electorate as a bait before the eyes of the Prussian king. For the rest, the army of invasion collected at Boulogne; volunteers in increasing numbers drilled and trained themselves on the other side of the Channel; and British fleets kept watch over all the French ports in the North Sea and in the Channel, on the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean. Repeatedly in the past from 1756 to 1797, the menace of invasion had frightened British governments into complete or partial withdrawals from the inland sea, but it had no such effect now when the British naval force could maintain an adequate strength of ships in every region.

Tsar Alexander.

But another actor was coming on the scene. Doubts were stirring in the mind of the Tsar, suspicions that Napoleon was projecting designs against the Turkish empire, in pursuance of his old schemes for Oriental conquest. It was more than probable that the kingdom of the Sicilies would be made a stepping-stone. At any rate the tightening of Napoleon's grip upon Western Europe was ominous. The Tsar began to think of alliances to hold the ambitions of France in

check; and in the quarter where his own interests were directly threatened British interests were threatened also. Neither power could afford to see France in possession of the Sicilies.

Then, in March 1804, all Europe was startled by a tragedy. A plot was framed in France against the emperor's life. At the bottom of it were the Breton Georges Cadoudal, and Pichegru, the former general of the republic. Something of it was known to Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, who in military reputation stood second only to Napoleon himself. The plot was discovered, Cadoudal was executed, Pichegru was found dead in his prison, and Moreau, who had refused to participate, was banished. But matters did not end here. Napoleon believed, and had some colour for the belief, that there was an extensive Bourbon plot in which the British government was implicated. The Duc d'Enghien, a prince of the blood royal, the direct representative of the great Condé, was in Baden territory. Presumably in order to terrorise the Bourbons, the unfortunate duke was kidnapped on neutral soil, carried over the French border, and after a mock trial was shot for complicity in the plot. Napoleon persuaded himself and France that the crime was a necessity of state; he used the event as an argument for ending once for all the vision of a Bourbon restoration, by establishing a new dynasty and procuring his own acceptance by France as emperor. But Europe was shocked by the outrage, and no one more than Alexander. Even before it was capped by Napoleon's assumption of the imperial dignity, the Tsar had begun to negotiate actively for a British alliance, hoping to include in it Austria, Prussia, and the zealous but impracticable king of Sweden, Gustavus IV.

Murder of the Duc d'Enghien, March.

Now it had been proved in the war which terminated with the Peace of Amiens, that Pitt was not, as his father had been, an organiser of victories. But he was aware that to organise victories had become a necessity, that it was not enough to remain on the defensive until the struggle with Napoleon ended in a stalemate. Only through concerted action with other powers would it be possible to win;

1804-5. Pitt and the Admiralty.

and though Russia must be credited with having made the first move, before Pitt himself had come into power, Pitt was no less zealous than Alexander himself, in the effort to organise a coalition in which not only British fleets but also British armies would have to take their share, and the partners would be largely financed by British gold. It is also to be observed from the outset that the British navy not only had the ships, the men, and the officers, as she had in 1793, but also the naval organisation which had been attained in nine years of continuous war, controlled by men who had a thorough grasp of naval strategy in all its aspects. There is no fault to be found with its direction while in the hands of Melville, in spite of the poor figure he had cut when directing the military administration at the beginning of the previous war; and Melville was succeeded before the most critical moment arrived by a man who had proved himself a thorough master, Sir Charles Middleton, who was created Lord Barham. Middleton was a veteran nearing his eightieth year when Melville was at the Admiralty; there is very little doubt that the wisdom of Melville's own measures was due to the confidence which he reposed in Middleton's advice; and there is no doubt at all that when Melville was forced to resign on account of the personal attacks made upon him, and Middleton as Lord Barham officially took his place, to Barham belongs the credit for the perfection of the Admiralty plans in the critical year 1805. But it is also to be observed that Pitt himself during this period showed an appreciation of strategical considerations which had not distinguished him in the earlier war.

Napoleon's scheme of invasion.

In the summer of 1804 Napoleon was becoming aware that a new European coalition was threatening. It would seem also that his confidence in his plan of invasion was weakening. Whether he ever believed much in it except by fits is doubtful; at one time he asserted in the most emphatic manner that the whole scheme had never been anything but a blind. The British Admiralty was obliged to act on the hypothesis that the scheme was intended seriously; but its equanimity was never disturbed. Its arrangements

provided always for adequate squadrons watching over all the French ports, so linked up that they could always concentrate upon the mouth of the Channel, if occasion arose, in such force that no possible combination could successfully challenge an engagement. Napoleon's plans for invasion involved the hypothesis that the Toulon fleet might evade the Mediterranean squadron, escape through the Straits, evade the blockading squadrons between Ferrol, where Spain had admitted French ships, and Brest, and co-operate with the fleet blockaded at Brest to crush the fleet blockading it; or else evade the fleet blockading Brest and rush the Channel, which would be held long enough for carrying the army of invasion over to England. But for that purpose, the Toulon fleet would have required to be stronger than the fleet blockading Brest; since a blockaded fleet had practically no chance of getting out of port in time to support the relieving fleet. As for the plan of evading the fleet and rushing the Channel, the squadron which attempted it might conceivably have got in, but it would have had no possible chance of surviving. The whole scheme in fact was chimerical, as the British Admiralty very well knew.

Now whether or not Napoleon seriously believed in his scheme of invasion, whether it was with a view to that scheme that he originally devised his West Indian expedition, no one will ever know. It is quite certain that in the autumn and winter of 1804 the costly but always inadequate arrangements made for the embarkation of the army at Boulogne were allowed to fall into a state of complete disorganisation; and at the turn of the year the Rochefort squadron and the Toulon fleet had their instructions to get to sea if they possibly could, and to make for the West Indies; apparently with the single intention of creating what may be called a colonial diversion, and paralysing the British for active naval and military co-operation with the European states, of whose coalition Napoleon was afraid.

1804. The West Indian scheme.

The negotiations between the powers were pursuing a very doubtful course. The Tsar's mind was set upon three things

which he wanted from Pitt: military co-operation in Italy, involving the placing of British troops under Russian command; the British evacuation of Malta; and the British concession of the old demands of the Armed Neutrality. For the first, Pitt was willing so soon as the army could be raised in numbers and efficiency to a standard which would make it possible to spare from England troops available for an Italian campaign. But on the other two questions Pitt was adamant. Malta was necessary to the command of the Eastern Mediterranean; the British naval command of the Eastern Mediterranean was necessary, not to say vital, from a European as well as from a British point of view. Britain could not surrender her maritime rights. As for the other powers, Prussia was obviously not to be tempted out of her neutrality, and Sweden clamoured for impossible subsidies from Britain as a condition of her joining the alliance. Austria might come in for the sake of recovering her old possessions in North Italy, but never took any hearty part in any portion of a common programme which was not directed to her own particular interest. She was in fact finally induced to commit herself to the alliance by her alarm when the North Italian republic resolved to turn itself into a monarchy, and invited Napoleon himself to assume the ancient iron crown of Lombardy, an invitation which he accepted and acted upon in May 1805. The result of all these complications was that the offensive and defensive alliance of Britain, Russia and Austria was not finally ratified until after midsummer of that year.

Russia, Britain, and Austria.

At the close of 1804, then, there was no actual change in the naval situation. Villeneuve at Toulon and Missiessy at Rochefort had not yet received their orders from the West Indies. One event of importance, however, had occurred. Spain had had warning from Pitt that if she persisted in giving covert assistance to France, as exemplified by the presence of the French squadron at Ferrol, she would be treated as a hostile power. She did persist, and in October without any declaration of war, Spanish treasure ships were seized. The effect was to throw Spain definitely into the arms of France, and to cause

Spain.

her to set about vigorous preparations for getting her fleet into fighting order. Still there was no prospect of its being ready for many months to come. Napoleon was anxious to separate Great Britain from Austria, and sought to open distinct negotiations by addressing, under his new imperial title, a personal letter to King George. Pitt's reply ignored the new title, and was a refusal to negotiate apart from the other powers. The tone of a note from Austria was so pacific that Napoleon was balked of his intention of immediately using his Boulogne army to threaten Austria, and thus excuse himself for dropping the project of invading England—which, as he had just informed his council, he had never really intended to do. This, it has been conjectured, was the reason why, not long afterwards, he resolved to turn his West Indian expedition into a means for enabling his various fleets, including that of Spain, to unite, and after all to carry out the old plan of invasion.

Pitt declines to negotiate.

In January 1805 Villeneuve and Missiessy had their orders. The latter, by combined luck and skill, escaped to sea under conditions of weather which prevented the blockading squadron from getting any clue to his destination. Villeneuve too slipped out of Toulon. Nelson, knowing that Sicily and the Eastern Mediterranean were the sphere in which the French were likely to be dangerous, directed his pursuit thither; but Villeneuve, finding that he had been sighted by a couple of Nelson's scouts, took discretion to be the better part of valour, and retired to Toulon again. It was only after this that we have the first intimation of a presumably new intention on Napoleon's part to carry out the grand combination of fleets in the West Indies, and to use it for forcing the Channel.

1805. The Rochefort and Toulon fleets, January.

On 30th March, Villeneuve with his fresh instructions, again slipped out of Toulon. Nelson, still judging that the area of first importance was the Eastern Mediterranean, had prepared a trap into which his adversary would have sailed if the East had been his destination. But by good fortune Villeneuve picked up information which enabled him to evade Nelson's scouts and make his course

The escape of Villeneuve, March.

to the westward: though he was in such haste to escape from Nelson's reach, that he barely gave himself time to pick up some Spanish battleships at Cadiz before hurrying off to the West Indies. Nor could Nelson at first discover what had become of him, and for a time the English admiral held himself bound to maintain his watch over the regions where he was entitled to expect Villeneuve; until at last he got the definite information which showed that his adversary had departed through the Straits—and at the same time other news, in the circumstances of an alarming character, of which he would have had early and timely information but for the loss of two dispatch boats.

The Malta expedition.

At the moment when Villeneuve was moving from Toulon, and the Russian ambassador, though not the Tsar himself, was agreeing to Pitt's terms, an expedition was sailing from Portsmouth, carrying six thousand troops to Malta, with a view to an Italian campaign, and taking with it a convoy of merchantmen. In the ordinary course, that expedition would have passed along the linked line of blockading squadrons from Brest to Cadiz, till it passed under the care of Nelson. But Villeneuve was out through the Straits. Orde, driven off from Cadiz by the unexpected approach of Villeneuve, had fallen back to join Calder, who was watching Ferrol; but though he had done his best he had failed to keep touch of Villeneuve, and no one knew where the great French fleet had gone; it was quite possible that the Malta expedition would fall into his hands. As a matter of fact, Villeneuve had made for the West Indies, but the pressing necessity was the protection of the Malta expedition from a probable very serious danger.

Nelson pursues Villeneuve, May.

Nelson himself was thoroughly alive to the vital importance of securing the Sicilies, and it was only when the safety of the expedition was insured, a sufficient portion of his fleet detached to command the Mediterranean, and the last doubt banished from his own mind that the West Indies were Villeneuve's objective, that he was able, with a smaller fleet than Villeneuve's, to start in pursuit.

Napoleon's plan of combination had already failed. The Brest fleet, as well as those from Rochefort and Toulon, was to have come out if it could get to sea without fighting a pitched battle; but it had failed to do so. Missiessy had failed to accomplish anything on his own account in the West Indies; and since Villeneuve failed to arrive in accordance with the original plan which had been foiled in January, Missiessy, not having received the fresh instructions which were on their way, acted on his first instructions, and sailed for home. By the end of May the British line of blockade, disturbed by the events of April, was again complete—still in perfect readiness for a concentration upon the Channel should that be called for; and the returned Missiessy was again shut up in Rochefort.

Collapse of the combination.

Villeneuve had a month's start of Nelson; but according to his instructions he was to wait for Ganteaume from Brest before driving the British out of the West Indies. By the beginning of June it was not Ganteaume, but Nelson who reached the West Indies. Nelson's fleet, combined with Cochrane's West India squadron, though smaller than that of the combined French and Spaniards, was more than Villeneuve cared to meet in a pitched battle, and the Franco-Spanish fleet started to sail home again on 10th June. Cochrane had remained undisturbed by the French at Jamaica. There Nelson left him, having formed his own conviction that the French were making for Europe, and once more started in pursuit five days behind his quarry.

The chase after Villeneuve, May-July

He judged that Villeneuve would make for the Mediterranean, whereas Villeneuve was actually making for the Bay of Biscay. Hence the pursuer did not overtake the pursued. But the dispatch boat sent direct to England sighted the French, and on 8th July, Barham had warning of the course Villeneuve was taking. He had fully expected that the arrival of Nelson in the West Indies would send Villeneuve home again. His object then was to intercept the approaching fleet; and the blockade of Rochefort was raised in order to strengthen Calder off Ferrol. Calder succeeded in finding

The end of the chase.

Villeneuve, whose fleet considerably outnumbered his own. The fight was in itself successful; but Calder, not knowing what the Rochefort fleet might do, did not follow up his victory, and the French and Spaniards went to Vigo. They had not been broken up, but Napoleon's scheme of combination had gone completely to pieces. A fortnight later, while Calder was watching for the Rochefort fleet, which had seized its opportunity, slipped out, and disappeared into space, Villeneuve got into Ferrol. The combined fleet there was so large that Calder's blockade could no longer be maintained. Meanwhile Nelson reached the Mediterranean, and since it was clear that this had not been Villeneuve's objective, he made fresh arrangements for possible contingencies, left Collingwood still in command, and carried his own squadron round to join Admiral Cornwallis before Brest; the presumption being that the objective of the French fleets would be the Channel.

The Channel concentration was completed in the middle of August, but was not maintained. Villeneuve from Ferrol might attempt to strike either northward or southward. Cornwallis had no hesitation in reducing his own force to the lowest point which he considered necessary for defensive operations, and again dispatched Calder, with a force sufficient to paralyse an active offensive on Villeneuve's part, to watch Ferrol. The same view of the situation was taken by Barham independently, and Cornwallis received instructions to do precisely what he was doing—although severe criticism has been passed upon him by modern critics for breaking up the concentration. Subject to the security of the Channel, for which, in the view of the best judges at the time, adequate provision was made, it was imperative that the enemy should not snatch superiority in the Mediterranean; the more so because of the critical relations between Austria, Russia and Britain.

Barham and Cornwallis.

As a matter of fact, Villeneuve with his thirty sail of the line was actually at the moment sailing for Cadiz. There Collingwood, who with his small squadron had fallen back on his approach, quietly renewed the blockade on 21st August, reckoning with justifiable confidence,

The Mediterranean, September.

that the enemy were in too demoralised a condition to be immediately dangerous. Within the next few days the political sky had so far cleared that the coalition had taken definite shape, Napoleon had abandoned the whole scheme of invasion, and the Mediterranean had once more become the vital area. Nelson was again dispatched to take the Mediterranean command with an increased fleet and a free hand.

Nelson had no doubt about his power of preventing Villeneuve from taking an effective offensive; but his extreme anxiety was to bring the enemy to battle and annihilate him—a very different thing from merely paralysing him. Villeneuve had no mind to tempt fate; and Nelson had inspired him with the same sort of fear as Drake had inspired in Queen Elizabeth's days. Left to himself he would have remained in Cadiz. But the emperor had chosen to attribute the failure of his scheme of invasion to his admirals, and especially to Villeneuve, who was driven to desperation by the expectation of immediate supercession. On the night of 18th October he put to sea, for Nelson was holding off with his main fleet, with the express object of enticing him out. The intended movements of the two fleets were complicated by changing winds, and it was not till the 21st that Nelson found his adversary in the Bay of Trafalgar.[1] The British were numerically inferior, but had a large supply of the three-deckers which appear to have been reckoned as equivalent to two two-deckers apiece, and there was no comparison between the personnel of the two fleets. The enemy's fleet was stretched in a line heading northwards. Nelson with a north-west wind came down approximately at right angles in two lines upon the French centre, pierced it at two points, enveloped the centre and rear, and annihilated it. The victory, though won at the cost of the life of the greatest of all seamen, was absolutely and completely crushing. After Trafalgar, there was no more question of balancing British fleets against naval combinations; the united fleets of Europe could not have wrested the naval supremacy from the British.

Villeneuve leaves Cadiz, 18th October.

Battle of Trafalgar, 21st October.

[1] See Note TRAFALGAR and diagram at end of volume.

The brilliancy of Nelson's career so outshines all others, that in thinking of the Trafalgar campaign, we are apt to forget the complete mastery of the situation shown throughout by the Admiralty, and the admirable manner in which every move of the game was played by admirals and captains, and above all by the octogenarian director of the whole, Lord Barham. The action of two officers only has been seriously criticised, that of Orde when Villeneuve escaped through the Straits, and that of Calder after his engagement off Finisterre. Orde's defence was apparently complete; he did the best that it was possible for him to do in the circumstances. Calder was court-martialled and censured; not, however, for his conduct in the battle, but because he did not renew the attack. The worst that could be said of him was, that he committed an error of judgment in not hanging on to Villeneuve—owing to his mistaken impression that, having forced that particular adversary away, it was his main business to prevent the fleet from Rochefort, the blockade of which had been raised, from joining the squadron at Ferrol. Nelson's glory is his own, but the honour due to others ought not to be forgotten.

Some considerations.

That Barham was at the Admiralty was due to the resignation of Lord Melville, consequent upon a vote of censure on him, which was carried in the House of Commons only by the casting-vote of the Speaker. The matter charged against him was the misuse of public funds when he was treasurer of the navy, during the previous war. He had, in fact, been culpably careless, but had not misused public money for his own ends; and when the vote of censure was followed by an impeachment he was acquitted. Some changes in the ministry followed, which placed Castlereagh in the office of secretary 'for War and the Colonies'; the Colonies having recently been separated from the Home department, with which they had previously been associated.

Impeachment of Melville.

At the moment when Villeneuve sailed for Cadiz, instead of attempting to carry out the emperor's design of a naval concentration upon the Channel, the coalition for which Pitt had been working was at last brought into line. An Austrian advanced

army was collected at Ulm; the intention was that the Archduke Charles should conduct a campaign in Northern Italy. Russian troops were massing on the east, and it was imagined that, before Napoleon could move, the legions of the coalition would dominate the situation. Never was a more erroneous calculation made. Napoleon when he was dealing with fleets was an amateur, who never understood the working of the British system or the conditions of naval warfare, and always appears to have supposed that the particular foolish thing which would best suit his plans, the thing he would like the enemy to do, was the thing they would do; and he had nothing but reproaches for the naval experts who endeavoured to explain to him that the things he wanted his admirals to do would be merely suicidal. But of warfare on land he was a past master; as compared with any adversary he had yet encountered, a giant amongst pygmies. The instant he abandoned his design of crushing Britain by an invasion, his plans took shape for crushing the coalition before any concentration of its forces could be accomplished.

The coalition formed, August.

For a time his intentions remained obscure, and the Austrians were hardly perturbed. Then suddenly his armies were sweeping across Germany, and on the day before Trafalgar, 20th October, the whole of the Austrian force at Ulm, thirty-three thousand men, found itself in a trap from which there was no escape, and was compelled to surrender. The capitulation of Ulm left the road to Vienna open. On 13th November the French army entered Vienna; on 3rd December Napoleon, who had marched to meet the Russian army and the Austrian troops which had joined them, won perhaps the most brilliant of his victories at Austerlitz. The coalition was shivered to atoms; Austria lay at Napoleon's mercy; Russia recoiled from the terrific blow which had been struck, angry because Austria had proved a broken reed, angry also because Prussia made haste to seek the friendship of the victor. French troops advancing upon Ulm had violated Prussian territory, and Frederick William had been thereby almost stirred into joining the coalition, but found Austerlitz convincing. The

The Austerlitz campaign.

Treaty of Pressburg surrendered to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy all that after Lunéville had remained to Austria of Italy and the Adriatic coast. Napoleon's protégé, the elector of Bavaria, was rewarded with Swabia and the Tyrol—a transfer of sovereignty to which the Tyrolese themselves were to have something to say. With corresponding liberality Napoleon made a present of Hanover to Prussia, by the Treaty of Schönbrunn.

The coalition shattered, December.

Under the tremendous strain, Pitt's health had been breaking down. Great as was the triumph of Trafalgar, for him Austerlitz was a crushing blow. 'Roll up the map of Europe,' he said; 'it will not be wanted again for ten years.' A few weeks later, on January 23rd, his indomitable spirit passed away. Almost, but not quite, within three months the statesman and the sailor, who most of men had checked Napoleon's career and shaken his power, were removed from the scene of struggle. Trafalgar, Austerlitz, and the death of Pitt mark a definite epoch in the history of the war.

1806. Death of Pitt, 23rd January.

But before we enter upon the second phase we must turn to another region, where another side of the struggle was being fought out.

The Marquess Wellesley had won in England unqualified approval by his destruction of the hostile power of Mysore. His subsequent proceedings had been viewed with less favour. His doctrine that the British must assert themselves as the paramount power, and ought to extend the territories under their direct control whenever the thing could be done legitimately, was in flat contradiction to the recognised theory that intervention in the native states was only desirable when British interests were directly endangered, and that every extension of territory was a burden rather than an advantage. There was also serious friction between the India House or the East India Company at home and the governor-general for other reasons. The India House regarded patronage as its own perquisite; Wellesley made excellent appointments on his own responsibility without consulting the

Lord Wellesley in India.

India House; and the fact that his selections included kinsmen and connections of his own made matters worse from their point of view. Still the power of his personality made itself effectively felt; and when the irritated governor-general tendered his resignation in 1802 it was not accepted.

With the Peace of Amiens, Wellesley received instructions to restore to the French the stations which had, as a matter of course, been seized during the war. But Wellesley was not satisfied with the situation, and held on to them pending further instructions, very much as the Addington government held on in Malta and Alexandria. His prescience was demonstrated when the war broke out again, and when it was found that the official sent from France before the end of the peace to take over the French towns had instructions to intrigue with the native powers.

1802. Retention of the French towns.

It must not be forgotten that from the beginning to the end of Wellesley's career in India, he had Napoleon's ambitions in his mind. With a vigilant government there was about as much chance of the French getting a footing in India as there was of their getting a footing in England, but there was precisely the same kind of reason for the perpetual vigilance and precautions in the absence whereof such a chance existed. As yet it was quite conceivable that if the Mahrattas really combined, they would not be content to share India with the British, but would make a bid for an inclusive empire. It was certain that they would welcome French help if they could get it; and it was probable that such help would make the Mahrattas the more formidable, and would bring concurrent advantages to the French empire in its struggle with the British empire. Hence, just as Wellesley on his first arrival in India had at once insisted that the Nizam and Tippu must dismiss all Frenchmen from their service, and cease holding communications with the French anywhere and everywhere, so now his policy was directed to inducing the Mahrattas to accept similar conditions. And in like manner he was anxious to procure with them his favourite arrangement of maintaining a British force theoretically for the security of

The Mahrattas and the French peril.

the Mahratta government, but actually serving also as a guarantee against Mahratta aggression.

Mahratta dissensions.

Now at the moment when Wellesley had landed in India in 1798, the Mahratta menace was not imminent because of the divisions and feuds then prevailing amongst them. The pressing danger came from Tippu of Mysore; and Tippu was crushed, while the Nizam, by perfectly friendly methods, was practically reduced to the position of a dependent prince. The governor-general after this might have acted on the presumption that if the Mahrattas were left alone they would devour each other, so that the British ascendency would have nothing to fear from them—an application of the old principle *divide et impera*. But in his view India required to have peace—imposed on it, if necessary, by the strong hand. He did not want to see the Mahrattas fighting each other and devastating half India in the process, with the possibility in the background, that they might at any moment effect a reconciliation among themselves and turn against the British—and also with the other possibility that the French would establish inconvenient relations with them.

Baji Rao peshwa.

Theoretically, the head of the whole Mahratta confederacy, the five Mahratta powers, was the Peshwa at Puna, who at this time was Baji Rao. Wellesley vainly endeavoured to persuade the Puna government to follow the example of the Nizam, to accept a subsidiary alliance ceding territory for the maintenance of a British contingent in Puna territory, and to submit the control of foreign relations to the British government. But no native state was willing to become a vassal of the British until it felt that British protection was necessary to its own preservation. So it had been with Oudh and with Haidarabad. So it was now with the Mahrattas. But since the death of the great Madhoji Sindhia in 1794, no one endowed with his diplomatic powers had arisen to manipulate Mahratta affairs. The new Sindhia, Daulat Rao, was still a young man. The succession in Holkar's dominions had only just been decided after much fighting in favour of the reigning Holkar, Jeswant Rao. At the turn of the century, Sindhia

and Holkar were quarrelling to get the mastery over the Peshwa Baji Rao. In 1802 Holkar routed the forces of Sindhia and Baji Rao under the walls of Puna; and the Peshwa, who made his own escape, decided that the time had come to place himself temporarily under British protection. He accepted the proposals which he had before rejected, and on the last day of the year the Treaty of Bassein was signed by the official head of the Mahratta confederacy. In May 1803 he was reinstated, with the governor-general's brother, Arthur Wellesley, at his elbow to take care of him.

1802. Treaty of Bassein, December.

Now Holkar was for a time kept out of count by his disagreements with the other two great Mahratta princes, Sindhia and the Bhonsla of Nagpur. The Gaekwar in Gujerat also kept quiet. But the Bhonsla was hard at work trying to form a combination of powers against the British; and the Peshwa was only too ready to desert his British allies and masters if he could get his own position secured without their assistance. He was helpless in the hands of the young soldier, who was to be known in later days as the Iron Duke. But though he was reinstated at Puna, Sindhia and the Bhonsla were still in his territory at the head of masses of troops which they showed no disposition to withdraw, though called upon to do so by the British Resident. If they did not withdraw, war must follow.

In August, the British agent with Sindhia was recalled; and thus war was practically declared with Sindhia and the Bhonsla. Central India was in effect shared between the Bhonsla, Sindhia and Holkar, while Sindhia's territories ran up north, so as to include the western portion of the Ganges and Jumna Doab, bordering upon the provinces recently acquired from Oudh by the British. In this northern region Sindhia, who was in person in Central India, had a large force, partly of troops under the command of, and organised by, the Frenchman Perron. There were thus two theatres of war, the northern in Upper Hindustan, and the southern, where Sindhia and the Bhonsla were operating together

1803. The Mahratta war.

in Central India. In the southern area, Wellesley gave the command to his brother, whose military capacities had been previously tested in the Mysore war. In the north the operations were entrusted to General Lake. On 23rd September, General Wellesley routed the Mahrattas at Assaye. Lake defeated the Mahrattas and captured Delhi, and with it the person of the old Mogul, Shah Alam; then he captured Agra, and finally crushed Sindhia's second army at Laswari on 31st October. During November Arthur Wellesley inflicted a second decisive defeat upon the Bhonsla at Argaon, and then captured his principal fortress at Gawilgarh.

Assaye, September.

Laswari, October.

So decisive were the two campaigns that in December, only four months after the war began, Sindhia and the Bhonsla made their submission. Sindhia ceded the district north of the river Chambal, so that the headquarters of the Mogul empire, and the Mogul himself, passed under British instead of under Mahratta protection, and the British were thenceforth able to act as the representatives of the titular Lord of India, whose legal supremacy every one professedly acknowledged. The Bhonsla ceded the province called Berar, which was transferred to the Nizam, and also Cuttack on the east coast, which had hitherto broken the land connection between the Bengal and Madras presidencies. Both the Mahratta princes surrendered their old claim to the tribute called *chauth*, agreed to accept British arbitration in disputes with other powers, and dismissed all French officers. This in effect completed Wellesley's work; for now the British held the whole east coastal territory continuously, from Calcutta to Cape Comorin, the whole of the Ganges and Jumna Doab from Allahabad to Delhi, and the control of the Mogul himself. Every one of the larger states was pledged to submit to British arbitration in the event of a dispute with a powerful neighbour, and every one was pledged to employ no French officers, and to hold no communication with France. By the beginning of 1804 the paramount position of the British authority was completely established.

Treaties with Sindhia and Nagpur, December.

Yet trouble was not over. Holkar had stood aloof while the war was going on; but he was not convinced by the fate which had befallen Sindhia and the Nagpur rajah. His attitude became so aggressive that during 1804 it was necessary to attack him; and the campaign was one of the most unfortunate in our Indian annals. Colonel Monson was dispatched against him with an inadequate force. Holkar adopted sound tactics, evaded a pitched battle, harassed Monson's communications, cut off his supplies, and finally drove him into a helpless and ignominious retreat, so that the unfortunate commander only struggled back to Agra with a remnant of his men, while Holkar gathered his forces and made a dash upon Delhi. The moment was one of extreme danger; had the crisis been continued a very little longer, the whole of the Mahratta forces would have been in the field again. But Holkar was repulsed at Delhi, and then by the vigorous action of General Fraser was driven out of the Doab. He would undoubtedly have been completely shattered if at the critical moment the direction had not been disorganised by the peremptory recall of the great governor-general, whose vigorous policy had at last proved too much for the home authorities.

1804. Holkar's defiance.

In July 1805 Cornwallis reappeared as governor-general, bent on carrying out his own old policy of avoiding intervention with the native powers except under dire necessity. He was too strong a man not to have realised in a very short time that the conditions had changed since 1793; but he survived only three months after his arrival, and the acting governor-generalship was entrusted to the hands of an Indian official, Sir George Barlow, who was an extreme adherent of the non-intervention policy. The result was that although Lake was not prevented from driving Holkar from pillar to post, clean out of his own dominion, the peace or treaties which were concluded in 1806 restored his possessions; and also most unfortunately withdrew the protection which the British had promised to the princes of Rajputana, who were left as before to the tender mercies of Holkar and Sindhia.

1805. Cornwallis returns.

1806. Barlow.

One more event must be recorded in connection with this first phase of the great war. It was almost the last act of William Pitt to dispatch an expedition which again took possession of the Dutch colony at the Cape, in order that it might not be used by the French as a half-way house for war upon the communications between England and India. In January 1806, less than a week before the great minister's death, the Dutch surrendered to the British, in whose hands the Cape has remained ever since.

1806. Cape Colony occupied, January.

III. The Continental System, 1806-1808

To the last the whole burden of the administration had rested upon Pitt's shoulders; deprived of him, the ministry was far from strong, and contained no dominating personality. Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards earl of Liverpool) was in later years to prove a minister of the same type as Henry Pelham, an adept in the art of persuading antagonistic personalities to act in concert if not in perfect harmony. But as yet he was not prepared to undertake the task of leadership. In the circumstances, the king found himself obliged to turn to Grenville. Grenville and Fox were now in an alliance too close to be severed; and although Fox had been in opposition for thirty years past, except during two months of 1782 and eight months of 1783, he had been in all men's eyes Pitt's sole rival in political stature. Both he and Grenville were now of opinion that the first necessity was to form a 'national' government including all the best men available. Fox had displayed a fine magnanimity when the king rejected Pitt's wish to include him in the ministry in 1804. It was no longer possible for the king to withhold his countenance, however reluctantly, from him; and the 'ministry of all the talents' was formed, with Grenville at its head, Fox as foreign secretary, Sidmouth (Addington) and Ellenborough to represent the Tories, with Grey, Spencer, Windham and Moira among its other members. In the seven months of life which remained

1806. The ministry of all the talents.

to him, Fox was destined to realise that his faith in Napoleon's honesty of purpose was vain. He himself strove hard to procure a peace upon a permanent basis, but learnt by direct personal experience that peace without honour or security for Britain was all that the emperor would condescend to concede. The Grenville ministry lasted for little more than a year, ending in March 1807; and its place was taken by the Tory ministry of the duke of Portland, wherein no section of the Whigs was represented. From that time the Whigs as a party remained in the wilderness for more than twenty years. During those twenty years the domestic policy of the government was of a consistently reactionary order; varying only in the same sort of way as Whig ministries varied from each other during the old era of the Whig supremacy, when the Tories had formed no more than an insignificant minority in the House of Commons and the House of Lords alike.

The last Whig administration.

The Grenville administration can claim credit for one single achievement; it passed the Act which abolished the slave-trade. The interests involved had for a long time stood in the way of a measure which Pitt himself had advocated for years, and which had steadily been gaining the support of all persons of enlightenment. Even as late as 1804 the Lords rejected an Abolition Bill which had been passed in the Commons; in 1806 the resistance of the House of Lords was giving way. A general election after Fox's death practically made no change in the distribution of parties in parliament; nevertheless the bill abolishing the slave-trade was accepted by both Houses on 25th March 1807, the Opposition vote in the Commons numbering only sixteen.

1807. Abolition of the slave-trade.

The fall of the ministry, almost at the same moment, turned not upon the war or foreign policy but upon a constitutional question. Pitt had given his promise to the king that he would not himself again raise the Catholic question. The Grenville ministry were under no such obligation, and proposed to extend to the Roman Catholics in England as well as in Ireland, where the concession had already been made, the right to hold colonels' commissions in the army.

Fall of the ministry, March.

The king refused consent, and the proposal was dropped; but the cabinet, at a meeting from which the anti-Catholic members were absent, drew up a minute which was submitted to the king, stating that they reserved the right of again advising him in the same sense in the future. George replied by requiring them individually to pledge themselves never again to tender such advice. They refused to give the pledge and resigned, claiming that under no circumstances was it legitimate for ministers to bind themselves by any pledges as to what advice they might tender to the king in the future. That principle passed into one of the recognised axioms of constitutional government; but at this time, when reactionary ideas were dominant, it was so far from appearing axiomatic that resolutions embodying it were shelved in parliament.

The British supremacy on the seas had been established beyond all possibility of challenge in the hour when Nelson fell. Napoleon's supremacy on the Continent had been established a few weeks later at Austerlitz. The treaties of Pressburg and Schönbrunn with Austria and Prussia left no power prepared to defy his might save Russia. The attempt at a combined British and Russian movement in Southern Italy had come to nothing, leading only to the overrunning by the French of the Italian half of the Sicilian kingdom and the flight of King Ferdinand to the island of Sicily, where British fleets rendered him secure. Austria was shorn of great portions of her territory, which were appropriated either to Napoleon's Italian kingdom or to his obedient protégés of South Germany. Prussia had purchased what amounted to little but a contemptuous toleration by promising to close the Prussian ports to British trade, and in effect to declare war against the emperor's most obstinate enemy; for which she paid the penalty by finding her ports blockaded. The Austrian emperor formally dropped his title as the successor of the Cæsars and of Charlemagne; the Holy Roman empire ceased to exist. The emperor of the French had taken over the heritage of the Cæsars and of Charlemagne; he was the true King of Kings, and he emphasised the fact by setting up one of his brothers, Louis, as king of

1806. Napoleon's supremacy.

Holland, and another, Joseph, as king of Naples. Also he combined his German vassals under his imperial protection in the Confederation of the Rhine.

Even while these things were going on, Fox was making his great effort for pacification. But Fox, like Pitt before him, refused to treat apart from Russia; nor could suggestions for the restoration of Hanover tempt him to agree to the restitution of the Cape and of Malta. Before his death on 16th September, he knew that his generous dream was a dream and nothing more.

Death of Fox, September.

Whatever may have been Pitt's defects as a war minister, there was assuredly none better to take his place. The policy of isolated expeditions, so persistently employed by the elder Pitt in the Seven Years' War, had a very definite purpose, thoroughly approved by the greatest soldier of that time, Frederick the Great. Those expeditions served as diversions perpetually confusing and hampering the operations of the French army in Germany. In the war with the Republic, the younger Pitt had followed his father's practice, but without the same strategical motive which had been its one justification. In the war with the emperor, he had again prepared an expeditionary force, which had been dispatched to Malta in 1805, but this time it had been with the definite purpose, partly strategical and partly political, of co-operating with Russia in securing the Two Sicilies, lest Napoleon should seize them and use them for operations in the East. Moreover, the scheme had been essential to the creation of a new coalition. But the Grenville ministry reverted to the plan of miscellaneous expeditions with forces too small to effect anything. Thus an army was sent to Calabria under Sir John Stuart. It fought and defeated an army of French veterans at Maida, which showed, as Abercromby had shown in 1801, that French veterans were not invincible, and that there were no better troops than British infantry. But Stuart could not conquer Calabria, and was obliged to retire to Sicily. Another expedition was sent to South America, where, after an initial success under Beresford, it met with utter disaster under

Policy of small expeditions.

1806. Maida.

the miserably incompetent General Whitelock, at Buenos Ayres. This disaster befell at the beginning of 1807; and about the same time, Turkey being at the moment dominated by French influence, a force was dispatched to Egypt, and a squadron to the Dardanelles, with no results except those of forcing the Porte into the arms of France and of a complete fiasco in Egypt, ending in capitulation and evacuation.

1807. Buenos Ayres and Egypt.

All these operations were merely illustrations of inefficient direction at headquarters. They would have served no great purpose if they had been successful; they wasted men and money; they dissipated energies which ought to have been concentrated; and their general effect was damaging. Still they did not materially advance the projects of Napoleon. The decisive events of 1806 did not have their source in England, but in Prussia. The policy of that power had been vacillating in the extreme, directed exclusively by selfish considerations, and even from the selfish point of view singularly short-sighted. Before Austerlitz there were influences, increasing in strength, which were opposed to the policy of neutrality and opposed to Napoleon. If the French emperor's onslaught upon Austria had been delayed, the Prussian war party would have gained the upper hand, and Prussia would have joined the coalition. Austerlitz turned the scale, and Prussia made her humiliating and dishonourable treaty with the victor. But in the course of the ensuing months she found first that her commerce was cut off, and then that the French emperor was bargaining with Fox for the restitution of Hanover to Britain; whereas the acquisition of Hanover by Prussia was the bait for which she had sold herself. Since the death of the great Frederick, Prussia had not progressed; she was living on her old reputation, and imagined that, because Frederick had won Rossbach, her armies were a match for those of the French emperor. The disclosure of the negotiations about Hanover turned the scale again; the war party gained the upper hand. Prussia declared war upon Napoleon, and called upon Russia and Britain to aid her, while she flung herself single-handed against Napoleon.

Prussia.

1806. Jena, October.

Neither Russia nor Britain could render immediate assistance. On 14th October the Prussian armies were shattered to pieces at the two battles of Jena and Auerstadt, and Napoleon very soon entered Berlin.

No one but Blücher attempted to resist the advance of the victor, whose terms grew more and more merciless, as he saw how completely his adversary was prostrated. They were too humiliating even for Frederick William, who retreated with such fragments of the army as could be collected to join the Russians in East Prussia. The rest of the states of Western Germany, including Saxony, were forced to join the Confederation of the Rhine, while a few of them were combined to form the kingdom of Westphalia for the emperor's youngest brother Jerome. Then Napoleon advanced against the Russians, and in the battle of Eylau learnt, as Frederick the Great had learnt before, of what stubborn stuff Russian troops were made. Eylau was the first real reverse sustained by the all-conquering Corsican, and Eylau was only a check. More would have come of it if the British had acted with vigour in the Baltic; but they were wasting their energies elsewhere, the French were able to reduce the fortresses on the Baltic which were still holding out, and the Tsar was filled with wrath at what seemed to him our cowardly desertion. Before midsummer of 1807, Napoleon had gathered an immense force and after a desperate struggle, accompanied by frightful carnage on both sides, inflicted a defeat upon the Russians at Friedland on 14th June. Eleven days later Napoleon met Alexander in a conference at Tilsit, held upon a raft in mid-stream in the river Niemen, and the two autocrats became for a time allies instead of enemies.

From Jena to Tilsit, July 1807.

On 7th July the peace was signed. Russia deserted her allies; in effect the treaty was an agreement that Napoleon should be emperor of the West, and Alexander emperor of the East. Prussia reaped the reward of her selfish vacillations, the vacillations not of a people but of a thoroughly incompetent government. She was deprived of Prussian Poland, which was transformed into the duchy of Warsaw, and delivered

Treaty of Tilsit.

over to the now subservient king of Saxony; her western provinces were incorporated in the kingdom of Westphalia. The great port of Danzig in the Baltic was declared free and was virtually annexed by France. But, what was of the first importance from Napoleon's point of view, Russia was to come in to his system of closing European ports to British commerce, and was to bring in the small powers which still stood outside, Denmark, Sweden and Portugal.

Meanwhile, however, a few weeks after the battle of Eylau, the Grenville ministry in England had fallen. The figurehead of the new ministry was the duke of Portland. Castlereagh returned to the ministry for war, and George Canning went to that for foreign affairs. Neither Canning nor Castlereagh could dominate the government, and most unhappily an intense personal antipathy prevented them from working in concert. The government continued to suffer from the want of consistent and determined direction by a single head; the plans of one minister were frequently thwarted by the open or secret antagonism of one or another of his colleagues; but both Canning and Castlereagh were at least bent upon vigorous action.

1807. The Portland ministry, April.

Canning had no sooner come into office than he sought to take energetic measures for a Baltic expedition; but before Britain was ready, the battle of Friedland had been won and lost, and the Tsar had definitely gone over to France. Information reached Canning which left him no doubt that the Treaty of Tilsit was directed against Britain, and that a plan was on foot similar to that which had been frustrated by Nelson six years before at the battle of the Baltic. Canning repeated the counterstroke. Denmark was at peace with Britain, but an expedition was dispatched to Copenhagen, which demanded the transfer of the Danish fleet, to be held by Britain till the close of the war. The Danes refused, Copenhagen was bombarded, and Denmark was forced to submit and surrender her fleet, though she was rendered thereby bitterly hostile to Britain during the rest of the war. The action was a breach of international law, to be excused on the sole ground of sheer necessity.

Copenhagen.

The alternative was to allow the Danish fleet to pass into the hands of hostile powers, and to be brought into play against Britain when it suited their convenience. But in fighting with Napoleon there was the further excuse that the emperor never hesitated for a moment to set international law at nought if he could gain anything by doing so. Of that fact he was on the point of giving very emphatic illustration; though he denounced the treachery and general iniquity of Canning's action in most unmeasured terms. Nevertheless, though Napoleon was the last person who had the shadow of a right to pose as the champion of international rights, it may be questioned whether Canning's action was really justified, whether the military necessity was as great as he claimed. The British fleet had little to fear from all the fleets of Europe, and the seizure of the Danish fleet in time of peace gave colour to the impression that Britain was as reckless as Napoleon himself in disregarding the rights of others when her own interests were concerned.

The continental system.

Napoleon's wrath was extreme, not because his moral sensibilities were shocked, but because he had calculated upon decisive results from the scheme which was foiled by Canning's stroke. Unable to strike at the British power on the sea by means of hostile fleets, he had developed his scheme for cutting off the sources of that power by destroying British commerce through the closure of the continental markets. The British empire was strong because it was rich; it had fought French aggression in Europe by filling the war-chests of its continental allies. If British commerce were killed, there would be no more British wealth and no more British power. If British commerce were shut out completely from Europe it would be killed, therefore every European port was to be closed to it. This was the scheme to which Napoleon gave the name of the Continental System, and this was the scheme which he hoped to carry to completion by the Treaty of Tilsit.

The perfect working of the system rested upon the two fundamental assumptions that sea-borne goods were not needed in Europe, and that the entire coastline of Europe could be sealed

up; or failing these two, upon a third assumption, that Europe could get the sea-borne goods she required without the help of British commerce. All the three assumptions were actually falsified in the event; British commerce was not ruined at all by his project, but expanded in spite of it. The coastline never was sealed up; Europe could never do without British goods; neutral commerce was all but annihilated, and virtually it was only from Britain that the Continent could procure the sea-borne goods she needed.

The fallacy.

But this was not the event which Napoleon anticipated. He had never grasped the truth that France suffered more than Britain by the exclusion of British goods from French ports and ports under French control. His continued exclusion of British goods during the Peace of Amiens had been one of the most significant marks of his scarcely veiled hostility to Britain. After the war was renewed and Spain was drawn into it, every port in Western Europe was closed, from the Texel to Civita Vecchia, except those of Portugal. In 1806 the closure extended to all the Italian ports except those of the papal states, and also to the Westphalian and Prussian ports until Prussia threw down the gauntlet so disastrously for herself. It was then that Napoleon believed his hour had come for stamping out British commerce. After Jena, on 21st November, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree, which declared that all British ports were in a state of blockade, prohibited France and all the vassal states from commerce with them, and incidentally pronounced that all British merchandise in the ports of France and her dependencies was forfeit, and that all the British subjects therein were prisoners of war. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, the papal states, Austria and Turkey were still outside, but Napoleon was confident enough that it would not be for long. He himself soon afterwards saw to the closing of the papal ports; while Tilsit secured Russia, and was intended to secure Sweden, Denmark and Portugal.

Sealing the European ports.

1806. The Berlin Decree, November.

Napoleon failed to realise that if he could hit Britain hard by closing markets to her, she could hit still harder. The Gren-

ville ministry retorted by the Orders in Council, issued in January 1807, which declared all the ports of France, of her dependencies, and of states which recognised the Berlin Decree, to be in a state of blockade; which meant that any neutral vessels seeking to trade to any of those ports would be treated as blockade-runners. In other words, where British commerce was not admitted, no commerce should be admitted. Both parties sufficiently ignored the doctrine of 'effective blockade'; but of the two the British were much the better able to enforce the penalties, since French ships could not even make a pretence of blockading British ports, whereas it was by no means easy for neutrals to trade between French and allied ports without being captured. After Tilsit fresh Orders in Council stiffened those of January, and the Berlin Decree was stiffened by the Milan Decree in the following December. On the one hand, owing to the superior efficacy of the British in enforcing the Orders in Council upon neutrals, the irritation of neutrals as such was greater against the British than against the French; and this presently led to war between Britain and the United States. On the other hand, it was not the Orders in Council but the decrees of Napoleon which reduced Europe to dire straits, by depriving her of the goods which had become necessary to her; therefore the irritation in Europe against the author of the decrees grew constantly stronger. And at the same time an immense and highly lucrative if dangerous smuggling traffic arose for the illicit importation into Europe of the goods which were openly prohibited. Nor were Napoleon's eyes opened, even when he found that he himself was under the necessity of clothing his own soldiers in British overcoats, and of issuing licences for the importation and sale of prohibited goods. The destruction of the British power by the complete sealing up of the Continent remained fixed in his mind as one primary object in all his designs.

1807. The Orders in Council, January.

Some consequences.

After Tilsit, the one great gap in Napoleon's barrier was Portugal. Possibly the French emperor was already contemplating the transformation of the Spanish Peninsula into two or

more vassal kingdoms under brothers or brothers-in-law of his own. Portugal may for the moment have been intended for a sister and her husband, now duke of Tuscany, which he wished to absorb in his own kingdom of North Italy. But the matter of first consequence was to compel Portugal to desert the neutrality, for permission to enjoy which she had already paid a high price, and to close her ports to the British trade. The course which he followed, however, leaves no doubt that he intended from the outset to eject the house of Braganza, and to employ the subjugation of Portugal as an excuse for filling Spain itself with French troops, which would enable him to carry out the annexation of Spain in one form or another. For the Spanish government had in a moment of extraordinary rashness before Jena shown ominous signs of believing that it would soon be time to change sides, though the minister Godoy had lost no time in returning to a cringing attitude when he saw what a mistake he had been making. Spain, however, was kept in the dark as to Napoleon's intentions; Godoy, indeed, was led on to a comfortable belief that Portugal was to be dismembered, that he himself was to have a principality carved out of it, and that his imbecile master, Charles IV., was to be dignified by the title of 'Emperor of the Two Indies,' with half the Portuguese colonies added to his dominion. Such in effect was the promise of the Treaty of Fontainebleau (October 1807) with which Napoleon cajoled him.

Napoleon's designs on Portugal, and Spain.

But while the emperor was playing with Godoy, he was coercing Portugal. The prince regent, who was ruling on behalf of an insane mother, would have submitted, not without reluctance, to an order to close the ports to the British, though it would have spelt ruin. But when he was ordered further to declare war against Britain, he struggled enough to provide the emperor with an excuse for dispatching a force to Lisbon under General Junot. Portugal was wholly unable to resist; but the prince, the court, and some thousands of other persons were able to betake themselves to the British ships which were lying in the Tagus, and

1807. Napoleon seizes Lisbon, October.

were by them conveyed to Brazil, the great Portuguese colony in South America. The prince nominated a provisional government which he left behind him, but for all practical purposes they were simply at Junot's orders.

In Spain, Napoleon found his opportunity in the jealous hostility of the crown prince, Ferdinand, to the minister who dominated his parents. Godoy was detested in the country, and as a natural consequence, the prince was credited with all sorts of good qualities which he was very far indeed from possessing. We need not give the sordid story of court intrigues in detail. Godoy found occasion to alarm the old king and queen with a tale of treason on the part of their son. The son was imprisoned, disgraced, and released again. Napoleon's battalions were moving across the border into Spain, on the pretext that Portugal was offering resistance with British help. In February 1808 they actually seized Pampeluna. A few days later, they had evicted the Spanish garrisons from San Sebastian on the north coast, and Barcelona in the Mediterranean. There was a popular impression that the French were coming to remove Godoy. In March there was an *émeute* at Aranjuez directed against the minister; he escaped, but the old king was terrified and abdicated in favour of his son—to the immense joy of the populace. Napoleon had entrusted the management of affairs to his brother-in-law, the brilliant cavalry officer Murat. There came a period of futile intriguing; Charles betook himself to France, declaring that his abdication was not voluntary, but had been forced upon him; Ferdinand was enticed over the frontier to the presence of the emperor who was at Bayonne; and there the king and the prince were both compelled formally to resign the Spanish crown, which an obedient group of Spanish notables who had also been brought over the frontier, invited the emperor to bestow upon his brother Joseph, the king of the Two Sicilies.

1808. The Spanish crown.


FRANCE
Toulouse
Marseilles
Toulon
Bayonne
Santander
R. Bidasoa
S. Sebastian
Corunna
Ferrol
ASTURIAS
Oviedo
C. Finisterre
GALICIA
Vittoria
Pampeluna
Pyrenees
Perpignan
Rosas
Vigo
Sahagun
Burgos
Benavente
LEON
Valladolid
R. Douro
R. Ebro
ARAGON
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Saragossa
Oporto
R. Douro
Salamanca
Fuentes d'Onoro
Tarragona
Tortosa
R. Ebro
Almeida
Ciudad Rodrigo
Madrid
Busaco
Sabugal
Coimbra
Mondego Bay
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
VALENCIA
Minorca
Port Mahon
Talavera
R. Tagus
Aranjuez
Abrantes
Alcantara
Almaraz
Toledo
Majorca
Peniche
Rolica
Santarem
Vimiero
Torres Vedras
Villafranca
R. Tagus
Badajoz
R. Guadiana
Pt. Valencia
Ciudad Real
R. Jucar
Iviza
Lisbon
Albuera
ESTREMADURA
MURCIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Baylen
Cordova
R. Guadalquivir
ANDALUSIA
Lagos
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IV. The Peninsular War, 1808-1814

Napoleon was the victim of two misconceptions which proved fatal to him. He never realised that the British sea power could not be broken except by superior fighting fleets; and being wholly without national sentiment himself he never suspected that the sentiment of nationalism was a force which needed to be taken into account. Therein no doubt his misconception was shared by the great majority of European politicians; it had never occurred to any chancellery in Europe that provinces might not be handed over from Spain to Austria, from Austria to France, passed from one sovereign to another like shuttlecocks, without any consideration for the feelings of the population. No national sentiment had entered into the struggle terminated by the Peace of Amiens; the interests involved had been those not of nations but of dynasties. Yet it was to the awakening of national sentiment that Napoleon owed his downfall, and the first sudden and startling expression of that sentiment was evoked by his treatment of the Spanish people.

Sea power and nationalism.

Before Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king of Spain, before the month of May 1808 was out, the flame of insurrection had been kindled, and every individual province of Spain was rising in arms on behalf of the Bourbon prince who was supposed to be a patriot. Among the Spanish provinces there was very little concert and no real central control; each had its own provincial junta, or governing council, acting on its own responsibility, regardless of the central junta which had no real authority. It is not surprising that Napoleon should have imagined that no serious difficulties were to be anticipated from such an insurrection. The armies of Spain were unorganised and undisciplined. Austria had been twice brought to her knees by one crushing blow, at Hohenlinden and at Austerlitz; Prussia had collapsed at Jena. Much less would be required for the subjugation of Spain. It was not perceived that Spain was not an organism with a heart which could be

The Spanish problem.

struck at. Every separate province required to be held under by a great permanent garrison. A concentration in one quarter which reduced the garrison in another only gave insurrection a fresh opportunity of making head. The lines of communication ran across mountain ranges and over rivers where they were perpetually exposed to the raiding of guerillas. The roads were few and for the most part bad ; and no army could move without carrying great stores of food which could only be accumulated with great difficulty. The very conditions which would have made it the simplest of tasks to crush a dynastic resistance in Spain made it all but impossible to crush a determined popular resistance.

Napoleon received his first lesson promptly enough. In the north Bessières seized and secured the main line of communication with Madrid, the road passing from Bayonne through Burgos. But in Aragon, Saragossa defied attack ; Catalonia throughout the war remained an isolated theatre where the French could never establish control. Southwards, the column dispatched against Valencia was repulsed ; the column which advanced under Dupont into Andalusia was surrounded and compelled to capitulate at Baylen in July, at the moment when King Joseph was entering Madrid ; and the emperor's nominee was obliged to retire hastily beyond the Ebro. And in the meanwhile Portugal was taking example by Spain, and it was extremely doubtful whether Junot with his 25,000 men would find the task of holding it in subjection an easy one.

1808. Baylen, July.

The liberation of Portugal was of the utmost importance to the British government, which was prompt also to ally itself with the official Spanish government of the central junta, disregarding of course the usurpation of Joseph Bonaparte. With British command of the sea, Portugal was an open gate, and thither a force was dispatched of 13,000 men under the immediate command of Sir Arthur Wellesley who had rendered brilliant service in India. Unfortunately, however, he was to be followed by two senior officers, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard. Sir Arthur

The Peninsular War opens, August.

landed at Mondego Bay, and having driven back at Roliça a smaller French force sent by Junot to hold him in check, pushed southwards towards Lisbon. On 21st August he won a decisive victory over Junot at Vimiero. Burrard, however, had now arrived upon the scene, and though he left his subordinate to win the battle and take the credit of it, he refused to allow the pursuit which would have made the victory a completely crushing one. Then Dalrymple arrived to take the supreme command, and he proved no less cautious than Burrard. Hence the fruit of Vimiero was the so-called Convention of Cintra, which caused great wrath both to Napoleon and in England. Junot with the whole of his troops evacuated Portugal; they were conveyed to a French port in British ships, while a separate convention was concluded with the Russian squadron, which was at the time lying blockaded in the Tagus. All three generals who had a hand in the convention were recalled for inquiry; and the command of the British troops in Portugal was passed on to Sir John Moore who had been withdrawn from Sweden, whither he had been sent in the vain hope that he would be able to co-operate with the hopelessly impracticable monarch Gustavus IV.

Vimiero and Cintra.

Hitherto the rôle of Britain had been that of a naval not of a military power. Outside of India the only military operation she had passed through with credit during the whole of the previous war had been the Egyptian campaign of 1801. Since 1803 she had nothing to her credit except Stuart's fruitless victory at Maida. In Napoleon's eyes military intervention on the part of the British was a folly which need not disturb his calculations, though it might be turned to account when he should have leisure to wipe them off the board. The immediate business on hand was to put an end to the annoying insurrection in Spain. It was not so simple as he had imagined; that was proved by the disaster at Baylen. He would take the command himself and employ an overwhelming force of veterans instead of trusting to second-rate generals and young troops. His plan of campaign was masterly. The Spanish central junta was utterly incompetent and incapable

Napoleon's operations, November.

of organising any general plan, while it left the several chiefs of the several forces without any directing head. In November Napoleon had reached Madrid, delivering crushing blows to the Spanish armies on his way. They were scattered and seemed powerless to make head against him; it only remained to subjugate Andalusia and to leave his subordinates to finish off the work in the two northern corners of the Peninsula, Galicia and Catalonia.

Yet the whole plan was foiled by the factor which he had thought he could ignore. Sir John Moore in Portugal despaired of rescuing Madrid when he saw how little reliance could be placed on Spanish assistance. His opinion was already formed that the task which had been laid on his shoulders was utterly hopeless, that the Spaniards were spiritless, that Portugal was indefensible, that there was nothing for it but withdrawal. He had already issued orders for a retreat to the coast; then he formed the resolution of first striking one blow, and flung himself suddenly with his 20,000 men upon the French line of communication in the north where Soult was in command. The effect of this unexpected move was decisive. Napoleon sped northwards in force, intending to overwhelm Moore. This was just what Moore had desired. As the great French army approached he began his retreat. The withdrawal of the troops to the north made it quite impossible for the emperor to carry out his plan for the immediate subjugation of Southern Spain and a march upon Lisbon. Napoleon, finding that the British army had eluded him, and not caring to engage in person in a pursuit which could carry with it no great credit and might damage his prestige, left Soult to complete the operations and betook himself to France; nor did he again set foot in the Peninsula. Moore made for Corunna, where he expected to find transports to carry his troops back to England. Soult, following hard on his track, only overtook him at Corunna itself, where the French attack was beaten off after a brilliantly fought battle in the course of which Moore was himself killed (16th January 1809). The French were unable to interfere in any way with the embarkation of the

Sir John Moore's diversion, December.

1809. Corunna, 16th January.

exhausted troops. With little more than 20,000 men Moore had successfully dislocated the whole scheme of operations of an army numbering about a quarter of a million men under the leadership of the greatest captain in the world.

It was at this time that Castlereagh came to the momentous decision, from which he never wavered, of maintaining an army in Portugal under Wellesley's command to secure that country and to co-operate with the Spaniards in the deliverance of Spain. Wellesley came out of the inquiry into the Cintra Convention with flying colours, and was reappointed to the Peninsula command. He expressed to Castlereagh his own conviction that 30,000 British troops would be able, if the Portuguese themselves were tolerably organised, to defend Portugal against any armies of less than 100,000 men, and that so large a force could not be detached by the French for Portuguese operations. What a British force might do in the way of helping the Spaniards would depend very much on the Spaniards themselves. Further, as Wellesley judged the situation, if the French should attempt to employ more than 100,000 men against him they would find it impossible to provision such an army—as a shrewd judge of war had remarked long before, Spain is a country where a small army will be beaten and a large one will starve. This was the entirely sound hypothesis upon which Sir Arthur Wellesley conducted the Peninsular War. There was, however, a strong body of opinion, with good military authority behind it, that the Peninsular War was a mistake; and the general was always hampered by the disconcerting knowledge that one disaster would certainly lead to his own recall, and not improbably to withdrawal from the Peninsula.

Wellesley sent to Portugal.

After the event we can see that Wellesley was right. The presence of a British army under his command practically had the effect of keeping a quarter of a million of Napoleon's best troops and half his best generals locked up in the Peninsula for four years. But at the time it was not unnatural that critics should have doubted the 'Sepoy' general's capacity for defeating marshals of the highest reputation, or should have suffered from Napoleon's own persistent

Effect of the Peninsular War.

illusion that the Spanish resistance would collapse, and the British troops be driven ignominiously into the sea.

The events of 1809 scarcely had an encouraging appearance. When Wellesley arrived at Lisbon in April, Soult had entered the north of Portugal and taken possession of Oporto. Cradock, the British general, left in command with 10,000 troops, had necessarily contented himself with taking up a defensive position at Lisbon. General Beresford had already been entrusted with the task of reorganising the Portuguese army. Wellesley had to be prepared for an attack from the east by the French marshal, Victor, and for the advance southward of Soult. He resolved to take the offensive at once and to deal with Soult before Victor could move, leaving the Portuguese to hold him in check in case of accidents. The passage of the Douro was effected by a daring surprise, and Soult was driven headlong, before May was half over, across the borders into Galicia ; where for the time he was certain to find the attentions of the insurgent commander, La Romaña, sufficiently embarrassing.

Soult expelled from Portugal, May.

Wellesley fell back to Abrantes on the Tagus. The next step was to strike a blow if possible at Victor in Central Spain, in conjunction with the Spanish forces. It was some time before he could move, and he was misinformed as to the forces in the north at the disposal of Soult, who had withdrawn from Galicia A junction was effected with the Spaniards under Cuesta. On 27th July Wellington, with some 20,000 British, and Cuesta, with 30,000 Spaniards, were facing Victor with something under 50,000 men at Talavera, where a two days' battle was fought, which ended with the decisive defeat of the French. The burden of fighting borne by the sections of the allied army may be estimated from the fact that while the French lost 9000 men the British lost over 6000 and the Spaniards one-fifth of that number. There were Spanish regiments which ran away and others which stood their ground manfully ; the fault lay much more with the commander than with the troops. Talavera taught Wellesley once for all that for practical purposes Spanish troops under a Spanish com-

Talavera, 27th July.

mander could not be reckoned upon in the field. Not only was it impossible to follow up the victory, but it was absolutely necessary to withdraw the British army away into a safe position. British losses could not be replaced with ease as could those of the French; and Wellesley only now learnt that Soult was at the head of 50,000 men, and that to escape him he must take the southward route back to Portugal by Badajoz. Talavera increased the prestige of the British arms and the British general, to whom also it brought the title of Viscount Wellington, but in other respects it was fruitless. Before the end of the year, it seemed as though the French would overrun all Spain except the fastnesses of Galicia and Catalonia.

Wellesley retreats.

But the Peninsula was not the only theatre of war. When Napoleon withdrew to France in January, it was to prepare for a renewal of the European conflict. The example of Spain was already exciting a new feeling of nationalism; if Prussia had been humbled, the skilful and vigorous administration of the great minister Stein was reorganising the whole Prussian system after a fashion which was presently to bear splendid fruit. It seemed that even in Western Germany, a German feeling was arising very unlike the old particularism of every petty principality. An Austrian minister was in power, like-minded to Stein, if inferior to him in ability and fire. The acquiescence of Austria in the existing order was exhausted, and in March she was inviting British co-operation, which was promised so soon as the British army should be brought up to a standard making it possible to dispatch a powerful expedition. In April Austria declared war upon Bavaria, the ally and protégé of Napoleon; her own army had been reorganised by the archduke Charles, the one commander who had hitherto succeeded in achieving a high reputation; while the Tyrolese, led by the patriot Hofer, rose in arms against the Bavarian domination.

Europe arising; Spring.

But before the end of April Napoleon had split up the Austrian forces, smiting them in five successive battles, on successive days, and on 13th May he was in Vienna. A week later he

suffered a reverse at Aspern-Essling. His position appeared to be critical, but he succeeded in extricating himself from it with extraordinary skill, and on 6th July gained a hard-won but by no means overwhelming victory over the Austrians at Wagram. Though the Austrian army was far from being crushed, and retreated in good order into Moravia, Austria threw up the struggle. Hostilities were suspended, though the definite Treaty of Vienna was deferred till October, while the combatants awaited the outcome of the British operations.

The Wagram campaign; Summer.

Talavera was fought three weeks after Wagram; and Talavera was followed by Wellington's retreat to Portugal, which implied the practical failure of his campaign—though that was no fault of his. Much more disastrous was the second of the British operations in this year. In accordance with the promise to Austria, it was designed to send a great expedition to capture Antwerp. It would doubtless have been wiser to concentrate upon the campaign in the Peninsula, where Wellington could presumably have accomplished more with a larger British force at his disposal. Nevertheless, the plan of a diversion against Antwerp had much to be said for it. If the attack had been made at the moment when Napoleon found himself in fact free for the campaign on the Danube, the seizure of Antwerp would have been a serious blow, which might have gravely hampered Napoleon's movements.

The Walcheren expedition, July-August.

But the expedition was too late. Forty thousand soldiers, under the command of Lord Chatham, were landed on the Scheldt three weeks after the battle of Wagram had been fought. It was accompanied by a naval force under Sir Richard Strachan. The French fleet which was at Flushing ought to have been seized, but was allowed to escape up the Scheldt to Antwerp. That city, of which the defences were at the moment weak, since the attack had not been anticipated in this quarter, would have fallen if it had been attacked at once. Instead, Chatham wasted time in securing Flushing, which did not fall till the 16th. The blundering was recorded in a popular rhyme.

Its mismanagement.

'Lord Chatham with his sword drawn,
Was waiting for Sir Richard Strachan.
Sir Richard longing to be at 'em,
Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham.'

The result was that the defences of Antwerp were put in complete repair, the expedition found the capture impossible, and most of the troops, already attacked by sickness, were withdrawn. But 15,000 of them were left to hold the island of Walcheren, where they soon began to die like flies from malaria and the lack of medical requirements. Before the close of the year the wretched remnant was carried back to England. Such was the miserable end of the Walcheren expedition. If it had been ready to sail in April, its arrival might have turned the scale in North Germany, and have changed the whole character of the campaign which ended at Wagram. At that stage there was reason in the view that North Germany was a more useful field of operations than the Peninsula. But after Wagram it was too late, though even then the capture of Antwerp might have had a material effect on the situation. From the moment, however, when it became clear that Antwerp would not be captured, it ought also to have been clear that no more men and no more money should be wasted in that quarter; as it turned out both men and money were merely squandered.

Its woful end.

The effect of the failure took shape in October. Austria humbled herself by the Treaty of Vienna, in which she surrendered her last ports in the Adriatic, deserted the Tyrolese who had shown such stout loyalty to the house of Hapsburg, and was shorn also of so much of Poland as she had acquired in the previous partitions. It was part of the policy of Napoleon to pose as the friend of the Poles, on account of strategical considerations in relation to Russia. The French emperor was tightening the fetters upon Western Europe, though by absorbing the duchy of Oldenburg he created a cause of friction with his distinctly lukewarm ally Alexander. The humiliation of Austria was completed when the Tsar in effect declined Napoleon's proposals that he should marry a Russian

Treaty of Vienna, October.

princess and the Austrian emperor permitted an Austrian princess to become empress of the French, wife of the Corsican upstart who divorced his former wife Josephine to marry her.

Perceval prime minister.

The Walcheren expedition was also mainly responsible for ministerial changes in England. The antagonism between Canning and Castlereagh, intensified by misunderstandings, came to a head. Both the ministers resigned, and there was a duel between them in which Canning was slightly wounded, and which for the time made it practically impossible for either of them to return to office. Portland, the ministerial figurehead, resigned at the same time, and the ministry was reconstructed under the leadership of Spencer Perceval, the Marquess Wellesley taking Canning's place at the Foreign Office, while the earl of Liverpool, the former Lord Hawkesbury, took Castlereagh's secretaryship for war. It may be noted that the minor office of 'secretary at war' was given to young Lord Palmerston, who retained it for twenty years. The ministerial changes, however, produced no practical change in the policy of the government; nor was it affected when late in the following year, 1810, the old king was incapacitated once more, this time permanently, and the Prince of Wales became prince regent at the beginning of 1811.

1810. Position in the Peninsula.

In the Peninsula too there was a lull so far as the British were concerned. The Walcheren fiasco prevented Wellington from receiving adequate reinforcements, and the practical failure of the Talavera campaign had proved the hopelessness of any attempt to take the offensive on the basis of effective co-operation by Spanish armies. For the time the French were engaged in the endeavour to master Spain itself. The Spaniards were able to secure Cadiz, but Soult and Victor were dominating Andalusia in the south, and Suchet was establishing himself in Aragon, though Catalonia remained as always defiant. As yet the frontier fortresses of Portugal, Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo in the north, and Badajoz in the south, were in the hands of the Portuguese and the British. But an invasion of Portugal was sure to come, and it was for this that Wellington was preparing.

Napoleon too was preparing his stroke. Occupied himself with his projects for a marriage which should formally recognise his dynasty as being on an equality with the oldest in Europe, he organised an immense force which was to conquer Portugal and drive the British into the sea under the command of Masséna, the marshal whose reputation stood highest. In May Masséna's advance began. Wellington could only wait and watch. He could not even venture to attempt the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, which fell in July. Wellington had only some 50,000 troops, British and Portuguese. With these he offered battle to Masséna at Busaco on 27th September, when after a desperate struggle the French were repulsed. But Lisbon was Masséna's objective, and Busaco was only a check, since there was a route by which he could march round the opposing force.

Busaco, 27th September.

Wellington fell back; and then Masséna suddenly and unexpectedly found himself facing the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, stretching from the Tagus to the sea and completely blocking the entry to the Lisbon peninsula. The British general had prepared those lines so that it was a sheer impossibility to force them. He had drawn in the Portuguese population behind them, and not only the population but all the supplies, of which he had completely denuded the country. Behind him the sea was open; before him lay Masséna with his great army in a country which had already been stripped of everything which could give it support. From November to March Masséna lay at Santarem, his troops gradually starving, perpetually harassed by the Portuguese guerillas who intercepted dispatches and cut off foraging parties, while Wellington waited grimly immovable. From the south, Soult, under orders from Napoleon, moved up from Andalusia into Estremadura and captured and garrisoned Badajoz, but made no attempt to reinforce Masséna. A force of Spaniards and British was transported by sea from Cadiz to Algeciras, in order to take in the rear the forces under Victor which were blockading Cadiz. But for the mismanagement of the Spanish commander the movement might have

The lines of Torres Vedras; Winter.

Barrosa.

forced the raising of the siege; as it was, a complete disaster was only averted by the brilliant conduct of the British troops at Barrosa, and the siege was not raised.

In March Masséna began his retreat to the frontier with Wellington hanging on his rear. In April there was a sharp action at Sabugal, in which only a part of the troops were engaged and the British light division covered itself with glory. In May Wellington attacked Almeida; Masséna attempted its relief but was defeated in a very critical and very sanguinary battle at Fuentes d'Oñoro (5th May). Almeida was taken, but the French garrison cut its way out, having blown up the fortifications and stores. In the south, Beresford had been detached with a small force to attack Badajoz; Soult marched to its relief, and a few days after Fuentes d'Oñoro was fought the desperate battle of Albuera, in which the British lost more than a third out of their 10,000 men, the Portuguese taking but a small part in the struggle. Soult lost 6000 men out of his 23,000 and drew off; but it was quite hopeless for Beresford to attempt Badajoz. Wellington hurried south in person to give his directions, but the assaults were beaten off and the siege was abandoned. In the autumn the French were still in possession of both Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and Marmont had taken the place of Masséna in the northern command. Aragon, Castile, Estremadura, Andalusia, with the exception of Cadiz, were so far mastered by the French that no Spanish armies were in the field to resist them.

1811. Fuentes d'Oñoro, May.

Albuera.

And yet circumstances were working in favour of the patient captain whose soldiers trusted him infinitely though they did not love him at all. There was no Spanish field army, but it had dissolved itself into bands of guerillas who did not fight pitched battles but did intercept communications which left the French generals without information, cut up small detachments, cut off convoys, and cleared off supplies; so that co-operation between the French armies was extremely difficult. Moreover the French generals were jealous of each other, none would willingly help another; even when they professed to act together it was without cor-

Winter: the situation in Spain.

diality. Napoleon was still stormily angry with the men who failed to carry out what were to them impossible orders, and still regarded the Peninsula only as an irritating distraction from his more ambitious designs. For his relations with Russia were more than strained. All Europe was groaning under the weight of the continental system. Napoleon's own brother Louis in Holland refused to be bound by it, and Holland was annexed to France in order that the embargo on British goods might be enforced. Sweden obstinately refused to come into the system, and Sweden, though nominally ruled by Charles XIII., the uncle and successor of Gustavus IV. who had been deposed, was actually governed by the French marshal Bernadotte, who had been nominated as his heir; who, moreover, had elected to identify himself with the interests of the kingdom which was to be one day his own. Then the Tsar Alexander declared the Russian ports open to neutral trade, which gave yet another entry for British goods to the Continent. For this reason Napoleon was now concentrating upon preparations for an attack upon Russia which should break down the one continental power which had never given way to him, and force it into the system by which Napoleon still believed he could ruin his island foe. The plain truth was that the only hope of crushing Wellington lay in Napoleon taking the field himself and concentrating all his efforts on that one object—and even then it is not absolutely certain that he would have succeeded. Instead he concentrated his own attention on his projected Russian campaign, one of the most tremendous tragedies of history; and his armies in Spain were weakened instead of being strengthened.

Napoleon and the Tsar.

In 1811 then Wellington had done little beyond driving the French out of Portugal; he was as far as ever from any apparent prospect of taking the offensive in Spain. Nevertheless his hour was near at hand. In January 1812, before Marmont suspected what was happening he sprang suddenly upon Ciudad Rodrigo, carried it by assault, and secured it. Marmont had begun to move but was too late. None of the French commanders was prepared for the sudden and tremendous energy developed by Wellington. With the

1812. Ciudad Rodrigo, January.

north secured he flung himself south upon Badajoz. The fortress was magnificently defended by its commandant Philippon; but before Soult was ready to come to the rescue, Badajoz too had been stormed with desperate valour which overcame the desperate valour of the besieged. Once more the two gateways into Spain were in Wellington's hands. The British soldiery were learning to believe that they, not Napoleon's veterans, were the real invincibles. In their hour of triumph it is grievous to record that they broke loose utterly from all discipline and disgraced themselves unspeakably both at Ciudad Rodrigo and still more at Badajoz, though the aberration was only temporary.

Badajoz, April.

Badajoz was captured in April. There Wellington of necessity remained until the fortifications were thoroughly restored. It was vain to tempt Soult into an engagement; the cool-headed marshal had no mind to challenge the British troops in the full flush of their victory. But meanwhile the north could not be left to Marmont; as soon as Badajoz could be left, Wellington hastened thither with his troops, dispatching General Hill to close the one route of communication between Marmont and Soult by seizing the passage of the Tagus at the bridge of Almaraz, an operation brilliantly carried out.

Almaraz.

Then for a couple of months Wellington and Marmont were manœuvring against each other with armies fairly equal in numbers. Wellington's was somewhat the larger, but more than half of them were Portuguese, who, though they fought well, could not be relied upon like the British in a crisis. Each of the generals wanted to fight, but each was equally anxious not to do so except on his own terms, and with the chance of winning a crushing victory. At last, however, the manœuvring brought on a pitched battle before Salamanca on 22nd July, under conditions which made it practically certain that whichever way the battle went it would be decisive. The decisive moment came when Marmont, extending his left in an enveloping movement, intended to cut off the British right from retreat, left a gap between his columns which was instantly detected by his adversary. Wellington seized the opportunity,

Salamanca, 22nd July.

hurled his forces against the weak point, split Marmont's army in two, and rolled up his centre and left wing. In forty minutes the battle was lost and won. In the French army of 40,000 men there were 15,000 casualties. Marmont himself was wounded; the honours of the skilfully conducted retreat belonged to Clausel, on whom the command devolved. Yet the destruction would have been far greater if the Spanish allies, who had been posted to cut off the retreat, had not entirely neglected their allotted task. Marmont's army fell back further north to join the troops nearer the French frontier.

Three weeks later, Wellington was in Madrid, hailed on every side as the saviour of Spain. Yet even now the delivery was incomplete. Magnificent as was the victory of Salamanca, Wellington was not in command of a force which could crush Soult in the south or drive the northern army over the Pyrenees. Between those two armies it was still possible that he might be crushed. Still, one more blow was to be attempted. Wellington turned north. If he could seize the fortress of Burgos, he would virtually command the gate of Castile. Unwisely perhaps he made the attempt; but he had not the necessary siege train with him. Though he entered the town, the citadel defied assault; he was obliged to raise the siege after a month, and for the last time to fall back to the Portuguese frontier at Ciudad Rodrigo. Soult, however, had been drawn to the north, and Southern Spain was in effect clear of the French armies.

One more retreat.

All this time Wellington had been conducting his campaign under immense difficulties, very insufficiently supplied from home either with money, which was urgently required to pay Portuguese and Spaniards, or with reinforcements. There were never more than 40,000 troops at his disposal, and he lived under the perpetual necessity of achieving something which would reassure the doubters at home, and the perpetual consciousness that one serious failure might cause him to be recalled. In the circumstances there was more reason to admire the audacity with which he took risks than to criticise him for over-caution. His brother at the

Wellington's difficulties.

Foreign Office did his best for him, but resigned just before the Salamanca campaign, because he could not induce his colleagues to give Wellington adequate support. Castlereagh, however, who returned to office and took his place, was as determined as Wellesley, as confident in the merits and the wisdom of the man in whom from the first he had placed his trust.

Liverpool prime minister, May. In May the prime minister, Perceval, was assassinated, and the ministry was reconstructed, without any material changes, under the leadership of Liverpool, who remained prime minister for fifteen years.

Before Wellington fought Salamanca, Napoleon had started upon his Russian campaign. All Europe west of Prussia and of Austria, with the exception of the Spanish Peninsula, was under his direct dominion or in practical dependence upon him. **1812. Moscow.** Neither Prussia nor Austria dared to refuse him their nominal alliance though neither would actively participate in the war. We need not here tell the story of that tremendous tragedy. Of the 400,000 men who began the Russian march in June, only some 40,000 ever came back. The disaster was followed by the national uprising of Prussia. So amazing was the power of Napoleon and the capacity of France, that May again saw him at the head of a great army and victorious over the allied Russians and Prussians at Lutzen and again at Bautzen. Even then it seemed that he might have retrieved his fortunes, but he made the mistake of agreeing to a two months' armistice. By the end of the two months Austria had joined the coalition; so also had Sweden under the guidance of Bernadotte. In August Napoleon won a great battle at Dresden, but Dresden was no crushing blow. Napoleon could not follow it up, the allies continued to mass in vast numbers, and on 16th October at Leipzig in the 'Battle of the Nations' Napoleon's forces were overwhelmed and driven in retreat over the Rhine.

1813. Leipzig, October.

The necessities of the desperate struggle had compelled Napoleon still further to reduce the forces in the Spanish Peninsula. The British government gave Wellington a more vigorous support than ever before. At the end of May he was over

the Portuguese frontier. On 21st June Wellington faced the French army, under the command of King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan at Vittoria. There was fought the battle which virtually ended the war in the Peninsula. Wellington's victory was complete. The great defeat became a rout and a flight to Pampeluna. Enormous spoils fell into the hands of the British and their allies. Napoleon had called away Soult to Dresden, but now dispatched him in haste to take supreme command of all the troops at Bayonne and within the Spanish frontier. So skilful and vigorous were his arrangements that it was only by hard fighting that he was prevented from relieving Pampeluna. San Sebastian, however, fell on 31st August. Yet it was only after a series of stubborn engagements that Wellington forced his way over the frontier in December. And still Soult stood at bay, nor was he driven from Bayonne till February. The last desperate action of the war was fought before Toulouse on 10th April. It would be hard to say that it was a victory either for Wellington or for Soult; and as it happened it was altogether needless, for before it was fought Napoleon abdicated.

1813. Vittoria, 21st June.

1814. Wellington and Soult.

The emperor's audacity and resourcefulness had never been more brilliantly illustrated than in the French campaign in the first months of 1814, when he was still struggling to hold in check the deluge of European armies rolling over all the land frontiers of France. But while Soult was disputing every yard of Wellington's advance in the south-west and Napoleon was himself threatening the communications of the allies on the east, the northern armies swept upon Paris itself. When Paris fell, Napoleon found his marshals with one voice insisting that to struggle longer was in vain, and he accepted the terms dictated by the allies. The emperor, still retaining his title, was to be relegated to the island of Elba off the coast of Italy, to be held by him as a toy principality. The Bourbon monarchy was to be restored in France, and a congress of the powers was to arrange the affairs of Europe, in which the exile at Elba was to have no voice at all.

Napoleon's abdication and exile, April.

V. The End of the Struggle

Capture of French colonies.

In the course of the war practically the whole of the French colonial possessions had been seized; since after Trafalgar destructive privateering attacks upon British commerce had been the only form of maritime warfare open to the French. The Marquess Wellesley had been balked in his desire to seize the French islands of the Mauritius, which lay on the flank of the route from India to the Cape; but Lord Minto, who became governor-general of India in 1807, effected their capture in 1810, and that of the Dutch island of Java a year later.

The United States and the Orders in Council.

In 1812, however, Britain had become involved on her own account in a separate war with the United States. It was remarked that the commerce of neutrals suffered severely from that aspect of the struggle between the Napoleonic and the British empires which was inaugurated by the Berlin Decree and the retaliatory Orders in Council of the Grenville ministry. The Orders in Council were certainly a justifiable and probably a necessary retort to the emperor's decrees; but it was the Orders in Council which pressed most directly, most conspicuously, and most offensively upon the neutrals and especially upon the United States, because of the enforcement of the right of search. The most acute grievance was the British claim to search American vessels for naval deserters, who escaped thither in large numbers. Before 1812 there was a growing antagonism to the Orders in Council in England itself, owing to the grave extent to which British commerce was suffering, As early as 1810, the strictness with which the Orders were put in execution was considerably relaxed; but Perceval, the prime minister, regarded them as of vital importance. After his assassination in 1812 they were suspended, but as far as America was concerned it was already too late.

An approaching presidential election and the exigencies of

American party politics, which pointed to a war with Britain as a popular move, led to a declaration of war, at a moment when the British were entirely preoccupied with the struggle against Napoleon, and Salamanca had not yet been fought. The war was a singularly unhappy one; it should have been well within the power of diplomacy to avert it, and there was nothing material for either side to gain by it. It left a legacy of ill-feeling on both sides of the Atlantic which survived for more than two generations, and its conduct reflected no great credit on either side apart from two or three episodes.

1812. The American war.

The Americans reverted to their old scheme for a conquest of Canada. There they failed completely: Canadian loyalty to the empire and hostility to the republic was deeply rooted, both in the British United Empire Loyalists and in the French Canadians, whose French sympathies were with the French loyalists and the old Bourbon monarchy, not with the French republic or the new empire. The defeat of the United States forces was due to the vigour and the valour with which the Canadians rallied to the call when invasion was attempted. One American force of 2500 men was reduced to capitulate at Detroit in August 1812, and another of nearly 1000 met the same fate at Queenstown in October; while a third attack in November was repulsed in the neighbourhood of Niagara. It is somewhat surprising that no adequate fleet should have been sent to the American waters, where no general engagements took place, but in several isolated fights the American ships proved the stronger. In 1813, varying fortunes attended the fighting upon the Great Lakes, but when an invasion of Lower Canada was attempted the Canadians again distinguished themselves by defeating the Americans at the Chateaugay River and at Chrystler's farm in October and December; and in June the credit of the British navy was vindicated by the famous fight between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, two vessels of equal strength in which the British captain Broke brought the enemy to surrender after an engagement which lasted for fifteen minutes.

Canadian loyalty.

The contest during 1813.

The Americans were not fighting as allies of Napoleon, and the war went on through 1814. The termination of the Peninsular War released British troops; and an expedition to the Chesapeake under General Ross defeated the American troops at Bladensburg and captured Washington, where the public buildings were burnt down. Ross, however, was killed in an unsuccessful attack upon Baltimore; and in January 1815 British troops from the Peninsula, led by General Pakenham, suffered a complete disaster in making a frontal assault upon impregnable entrenchments before New Orleans. The battle was a sheer waste of blood, since peace had been signed at Ghent between the belligerents a fortnight earlier on 24th December 1814. In the course of the struggle each side had inflicted serious losses upon the commerce of the other; both had been guilty of outrages; neither had gained anything, unless we reckon it as a British gain that Canadian hostility to the American republic had been intensified. The peace arranged for a delimitation of frontiers, but left unsettled the questions as to right of search which had been at the bottom of the whole dispute.

Operations of 1814.

Peace, 24th December.

On the abdication of Napoleon it became the immediate business of the powers to effect the settlement of Europe. It was a foregone conclusion that the Bourbons should be restored to the French throne in the person of Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., a less hot-headed person than the younger brother Charles of Artois. Under pressure from the Russian Tsar who was an eccentric idealist except when his ideals happened to clash with his personal interests, and of Britain which clung to the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, Louis was obliged to concede something in the nature of a constitutional government. France was permitted to retain her boundaries as they had been when the monarchy was overthrown in 1792. The rearrangements of territory in Germany, Italy, and Poland were to be left for settlement by a congress of the powers which was to assemble in Vienna in the winter. Meanwhile the house of Orange was reinstated in Holland and the independence of the Swiss republic

1814. Towards the settlement of Europe. May.

was restored. Though Britain had fought through the war from beginning to end; though the victory of the allies and indeed the formation of the last coalition would never have been possible but for the Peninsular War of which she had borne the weight on her own shoulders; though she alone had won French territory from France; she displayed a magnanimity which the other powers were in no haste to recognise. Of the French colonies she claimed to retain only Tobago and Santa Lucia in the West Indies, and the Mauritius. Of what she had taken from the Dutch she retained only Demerara in one hemisphere and the Cape Colony and Ceylon in the other, paying for the Cape a substantial indemnity. The rest she was willing to restore, contenting herself with the insertion of a clause in the treaty directed to the suppression of the slave-trade jointly by the powers. The Treaty of Paris was concluded on 30th May.

Moderation of British claims.

The congress which met at Vienna did not turn seriously to business until the beginning of November. It had been agreed among the four powers which together had overthrown Napoleon—Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—that they should reserve to themselves the final decision upon vexed questions, of which there were plenty; but Talleyrand, who had really managed the Bourbon restoration in France and was Louis's foreign minister as he had been Napoleon's, succeeded in placing France on an equality with the other four powers as one of the arbiters of the European settlement. Britain was represented by Castlereagh. There were plenty of complicated problems to be dealt with, and it was not easy to find any general principle for guidance. To the disgust of Ferdinand of Sicily, Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat was confirmed in the Italian kingdom of Naples to which he had succeeded when Joseph Bonaparte had resigned the crown for that of Spain. This was his reward for deserting Napoleon after the Moscow campaign. He in his turn was displeased by the restoration of the Pope's temporal authority in the papal states, which he had hoped to annex.

Congress of Vienna, November.

If Stein had represented Prussia instead of the less effective

Hardenberg, he might have succeeded in carrying the principle of arranging the redistribution of territories on nationalist lines; but the general principle which was adopted instead, under the guidance of Talleyrand and Metternich, was that of legitimism. The most serious questions were those of Saxony and Poland. Russia and Prussia on the one side proposed the annexation of Saxony to Prussia and the erection of Poland, as it had stood before the final partition, into a constitutional kingdom under the Russian Tsar. Austria was afraid of anything which should aggrandise either Russia or Prussia. Castlereagh appears at first to have favoured the northern powers, but then to have been drawn over by Metternich and Talleyrand, working upon his fears of Russian ambitions and of Alexander's visionary advocacy of Jacobin ideas. The three powers actually agreed upon a defensive alliance pledging them to defend in arms jointly the principles upon which they agreed.

Legitimism.

Castlereagh.

In February the substitution for Castlereagh of Wellington, upon whom a dukedom had recently been conferred, might have had a conciliatory effect; but it still seemed far from impossible that the outcome of the peace congress would be another European conflagration, when the quarrels of the powers were suddenly checked by the news that Napoleon himself had intervened. Slipping away from Elba at the end of February he landed at Cannes, and issued proclamations announcing that he had come to remove the Bourbon monarchy—which had been rendering itself extremely unpopular—and that he himself would rule not as a despot but as a constitutional monarch. For a moment his fate seemed to hang in the balance when the government troops marched to arrest him. But the troops were carried by his appeal, and hailed him as emperor once more. He began what was a triumphal march towards Paris. Those of the marshals who had never pledged themselves to the restored monarchy came in; those who had identified themselves with it had to take hasty flight. Ney, who had declared himself for the Bourbon, marched with an army to capture Napoleon, making loud profession, honestly enough it may be, of his loyalty; but when he

1815. Re-entry of Napoleon, February.

came in contact with his old chief the old sentiment swept him away and he joined the emperor instead of attempting to capture him. On 13th March the powers at Vienna, their quarrels hushed for the moment, proclaimed Napoleon the public enemy of Europe; on 19th March King Louis took flight to Ghent. On the 25th the four powers had resolved that there could be no parleying with the breaker of the European peace, in spite of his offers to accept the Peace of Paris, and they pledged themselves to place in the field 150,000 men apiece. On 30th March Napoleon was at the Tuileries.

The powers, March.

For Napoleon it was of the first importance to strike before the armies of a united Europe could be reorganised for war and hurled against him. In his favour he had his own unique genius and the immense advantage of the single directing mind. It must be long before either Russia or Austria, slow movers at the best of times, could bring up their forces. Prussia was comparatively ready, and her forces were soon gathering under Blücher's command upon a line stretching from Liége to Charleroi, numbering 120,000 men. By the beginning of June Wellington was in Belgium with a very heterogeneous force under his command. The Peninsula veterans had not yet got back from America; most of his 30,000 British troops were raw recruits. He could count upon the German legion which had distinguished itself in the Peninsula, and upon the Hanoverians, who made up another 20,000. Most of the balance of 40,000 was composed of Dutch and Belgians on whom no great reliance could be placed. In May Murat did his brother-in-law no service by attacking the Austrians who had reoccupied the old Austrian territories in North Italy. He was soundly beaten and was obliged to take flight to France, where Napoleon had nothing for him but reproaches for his blundering.

June. Blücher and Wellington.

Meanwhile Napoleon himself had been with titanic energy gathering and organising upon the Belgian frontier an army of 125,000 men which included corps of his own seasoned veterans, as well as a large proportion of untried conscripts. Wellington and Blücher should have

Napoleon's army.

strained every nerve to complete their connection and present an unbroken front. But before they did so, Napoleon, whose activity had surpassed all their calculations, had launched his thunderbolt. On 12th June he left Paris for the front. On the 15th he drove the Prussian advance guard in from Charleroi, while Wellington's officers were dancing in Brussels at the duchess of Richmond's famous ball. The Anglo-Prussian concentration had never been carried out. Blücher pushed up his troops to Ligny.[1] The main road between Brussels and Charleroi is crossed by another main road at Quatre Bras, leading south-east in the rear of Ligny, but Wellington had expected that Napoleon would direct his march north-west so as to throw himself between the British force and the sea, whereas Napoleon's real intention was to crush Blücher before Wellington could come to his assistance, and then to crush Wellington himself.

15th. Charleroi.

Accordingly upon 16th June the emperor flung his main force upon the Prussians at Ligny, dispatching Ney to seize and hold Quatre Bras. Thus he calculated that Ney would be able to contain the British advance, and to turn the Prussian right and complete the destruction of Blücher. The attack at Ligny was successful. Blücher was defeated and was driven off the field. But Ney found that the duke of Saxe-Weimar with some of the allied troops was before him at Quatre Bras. There was some delay in the attack; through the day British regiments were being hurried to the front, and the allies held their ground. All day a corps under D'Erlon wasted its energies hovering between Ligny and Quatre Bras; and if Ney succeeded in containing the British advance, he was able neither to carry the position nor to carry out the second part of the programme and strike at the Prussians. The result was that Blücher though defeated was able to draw off in good order under cover of the dark, and also to mislead Napoleon as to the direction he was taking. For it was naturally supposed that he was falling back upon his base of supplies to Namur and Liége, whereas, in fact, he was wheeling north-eastwards towards

16th. Ligny and Quatre Bras.

[1] See Map I., *The Netherlands War area.*

Wavre in the hope of still being able to co-operate with Wellington and to form a junction with him.

On the morning of the 17th Wellington learnt definitely that the Prussians were retreating on Wavre and resolved to make his own stand covering Brussels at Waterloo. Napoleon's entirely misleading information was to the effect that a part of Blücher's force was making for Namur, and the main body was on the way to Liége. He accordingly detached Grouchy, an officer who was not accustomed to independent command, to follow up the Prussians whom he imagined to be in a demoralised condition after their heavy losses at Ligny; while he himself turned to crush Wellington. The British general was able to draw back his forces from Quatre Bras though the French were in hot pursuit; and that night his army had taken post along the ridge of Mont St. Jean.

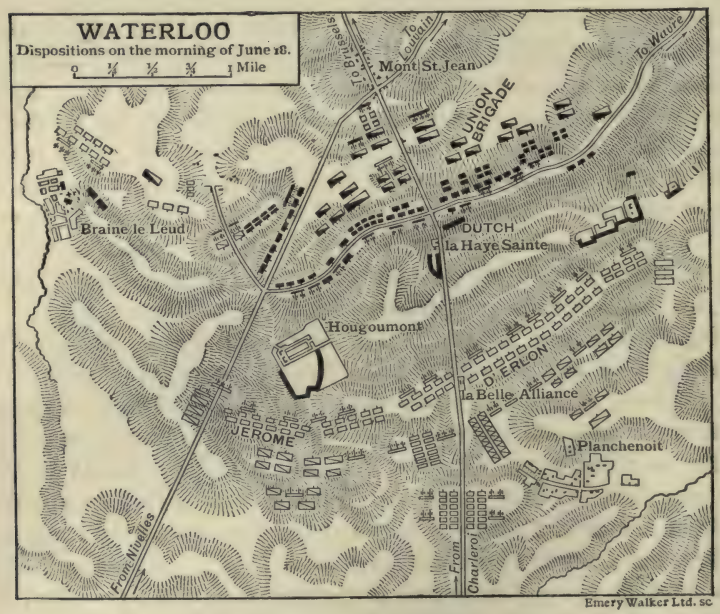
17th. British concentration at Waterloo.

Wellington had with him 67,000 men. In round numbers 24,000 were British, there were 6000 of the German legion, and 17,000 Hanoverians and Brunswickers, the balance being Dutch and Belgians. He had early information that the Prussians from Wavre intended to converge upon the French right, and he hoped to be able to hold on to his position until their arrival. If he should be compelled to retreat, the forest of Soignes on his rear would make pursuit difficult; but it was of vital importance that he should hold on, because if he were defeated the Prussians would inevitably suffer a more serious disaster than at Ligny. His army lined the crest of a slope, steep and well covered on the left. On the slope in front of the centre was the farm of La Haye Sainte, not too well prepared for defence; and covering his right was the château and wood of Hougoumont. These posts were occupied by small detachments of the German legion and of the Guards respectively. At the bottom of the valley was an undulation. Behind the crest of Wellington's ridge a dip was formed by a cross road which enabled Wellington to conceal the movement of troops. Napoleon's forces were arrayed on the crest of the opposing slope with the right resting upon Planchenoit. With 74,000 men, he was stronger than the British, especially in the

British position at Waterloo.

artillery and cavalry arms. He had never met British troops before and relied upon the method which had habitually proved successful against other continental armies, of preparing the way by a storm of artillery fire and then hurling masses of troops in column against the enemy's weakened line; and he paid no attention to the warnings of Soult—who knew Wellington and the British troops by experience—that the

Napoleon's position.



British line was not to be broken by column attack. The principle of the superiority of the line against the column, not only for defence but also for attack, at least when British troops were engaged, had been first illustrated at Maida, and then conspicuously and repeatedly demonstrated in the engagements of the Peninsular War. Napoleon's plan then was to pierce the British line at its weakest point, the centre, to which end it was necessary to capture La Haye Sainte and also to secure Hougoumont so as to prevent a flank movement on the British right,

A drenching rain had destroyed the surface of the ground for the purpose of the cavalry charges on which Napoleon counted, when the two armies faced each other on the morning of Sunday, 18th June. For this reason Napoleon, confident that the Prussians were out of the game, postponed opening the attack till almost midday. The artillery opened fire to cover an assault by Jerome Bonaparte upon the wood of Hougoumont. Jerome was not content to occupy the wood, which was all that was required of him, but made desperate attempts to capture the château itself, all of which were repulsed with equally desperate valour by the small body of the Guards which held it. The defence of Hougoumont is one of the heroic episodes of the great battle. But Hougoumont was not the real point of attack. This was to be delivered upon La Haye Sainte in the centre at 1.30. It was just at that hour that the first indications were received of the approach of a Prussian corps from Wavre—much later, it should be remarked, than Wellington had anticipated. Napoleon, however, was not disturbed, because he supposed that only a division of the Prussian army was moving, and that it was marching to its own destruction at the hands of Grouchy.

18th. The battle opens.

Hougoumont.

Accordingly at 1.30 he opened fire from a tremendous battery, under cover of which D'Erlon's division swept down to the valley, a part of it attacking La Haye Sainte on its left where the Germans offered a stout and successful resistance, while the rest drove up the slope and topped the ridge, sweeping back the Dutch troops which held it in a hasty flight. Here, however, Ponsonby's Union Brigade—the First Royal Dragoons, the Inniskillings, and the Scots Greys—were hurled upon them, drove them in rout down the slope with immense slaughter, and crashed up the opposite slope upon the French guns; where they in turn were charged and swept back by Napoleon's cavalry, and were perhaps only saved from destruction by a countercharge of Vandeleur's horse.

The first grand attack repulsed.

This was the blow which ought to have pierced the British centre, but was foiled by the charge of the Union Brigade. But hitherto Napoleon had hardly brought his cavalry into play.

While Wellington was reinforcing his depleted lines with fresh troops from the reserve, new attacks were made upon Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, where the reinforced Guards and Germans maintained their obstinate resistance. But this and a renewed storm of artillery fire were the prelude to a tremendous cavalry charge in the centre. For this, however, the British were prepared, and falling back behind the ridge for cover from the artillery fire, formed squares which received the onslaught of the horse with withering volleys; the gunners, who had worked their guns with murderous effect to the last moment, dismantling the guns and taking shelter in the squares. Against the squares the cavalry hurled themselves in vain, never even getting to hand strokes. As they reeled back the British cavalry fell upon them and hurled them down the slopes again. Again they formed up to the charge, reinforced by fresh regiments; again they swept up the slope and again they were shattered by the storm of fire from the batteries, and the indomitable firmness of the squares. And yet for the third time they formed and charged, only to be shattered again for the third time.

The cavalry attack.

It was now six o'clock. Those cavalry charges ought to have been supported by infantry. They were not so supported because as the afternoon advanced the Prussians were approaching and there was no sign of Grouchy. That commander had failed in his task, whether through his own fault or Napoleon's we need not here inquire, and had misdirected his movements so that he gave no effective aid to his chief. The approach of the Prussians, as early as 4.30, necessitated the drawing off of 8000 men to check them who would otherwise have advanced to support Ney and his cavalry. Large numbers also were still held engaged by the stubborn resistance at Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte.

The Prussians approaching.

At last, however, Ney was ordered to hurl himself upon La Haye Sainte; and even the heroism of the Germans could no longer hold it against the storm. But the advance-guard of the Germans was forcing its way into Planchenoit. At seven o'clock Napoleon made his

The attack of the Guard.

final effort. The masses of the Imperial Guard, the soldiery who were accounted invincible, were launched upon the British centre; but Wellington had drawn in his troops from the wings to strengthen it. As the advancing column rolled up the slope, the line on the right was wheeled forward and poured a flank fire upon its dense masses. Still it rolled on over the ridge, only to find itself faced by the Guards who were lying under cover and received it with a murderous fire. As they reeled back, the line of the Guards swept forward driving them down the hill. Yet a second column rolled forward only to be met by the Guards' fire in front, and volleys poured into the whole length of their left flank by Colborn, who then charged on them and swept them away. For a moment they reformed; but the whole British line swung forward. By this time the Prussian army, not merely the Prussian advance-guard, was overwhelming the French right. Napoleon's great army broke and scattered in a wild and helpless flight, pursued far through the night by the storm of Prussian horsemen, thirsting after a final vengeance for Jena. The British were too exhausted to join in the pursuit.

Victory.

On 21st June, Napoleon was in Paris. Even then he imagined for a moment that all was not lost. But all men fell away from him, and the ministry, headed by Fouché, held the control in its hands. Blücher and Wellington were advancing on Paris, Blücher thirsting to glut his hate, Wellington chiefly anxious to restrain his colleague's rage. On 15th July the fallen emperor placed himself in the hands of Captain Maitland on H.M.S. *Bellerophon* at Rochefort. On 31st July he learnt the decision that had been reached. The conqueror of Europe, by the decree of the powers, was to pass the remainder of his days on a rock far away in the South Atlantic. Only so, it appeared, could Europe feel itself safe from his restless ambitions.

The end of Napoleon.

CHAPTER II. THE ERA OF TORY RULE

I. The Settlement of Europe

The 'Hundred Days' made a difference, though less than might have been expected, in the settlement of Europe. The provisional government in France which had taken over the control and induced Napoleon to abdicate before he surrendered himself at Rochefort, effected the restoration of Louis XVIII., who had now fully realised that the old régime could never be restored. On 20th November, five months after Waterloo, the second Treaty of Paris was signed. Poland, Napoleon's grand-duchy of Warsaw, was transferred to Russia except for a small portion which was handed back to Prussia, and Prussia was compensated for her losses by a portion of Saxony and of what had been Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia. She became a purely German power, destined by her acquisitions to the leadership of Germany, though Austria did not abdicate her claim to the first place till another half century had passed. Belgium was added to the kingdom of Holland under the house of Orange; Hanover too was henceforth to take rank as a kingdom. The Bourbons were restored in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and in Spain; the western German states were formed into a loose confederation. France was to pay a heavy indemnity, and the troops of the allies were to remain in occupation for a term of years. Owing chiefly to the determination of the Tsar and of Wellington, Blücher was balked of his desire to humiliate her further, and she retained with very little alteration the boundaries fixed by the first Peace of Paris. Austria and Sardinia in effect recovered their old positions in North Italy.

1815. The second Treaty of Paris, November.

The British government made no fresh demands for territorial

aggrandisement, or other compensations for the enormous burden she had borne. Even her disinterested insistence upon the suppression of the slave-trade, a question which had laid an extraordinarily firm grip upon the national conscience, produced nothing more than a general declaration denouncing the traffic. But, as a matter of fact, heavily as she had suffered and cruel as the strain had been, she had yet relatively gained very much by the war. The last prospect of her disturbance in India by the French had vanished. The acquisition of the Cape Colony and the Mauritius put in her hands the outposts from which it had previously been possible to threaten the route to the eastern seas. The possession of Malta and the protectorate of the Ionian islands secured her ascendency in the waters of the Mediterranean; development of her trans-oceanic empire became a matter of course. The war had not only given her a fighting ascendency on the seas, but had also given her a monopoly of transmarine commerce which left the rest of the nations almost mere gleaners of the commercial harvest. Her isolation had enabled her to develop the new methods of manufacture, which had been out of the reach of every continental state, and to obtain thereby a lead so huge that even its diminution seemed almost unthinkable. She had spent enormously, but she had been creating wealth all the time; the other nations had been exhausting their resources without creating fresh wealth. There was indeed another side of the picture, which we shall examine when we come to the inquiry into her economic and industrial development. But, broadly speaking, although the moderation of her claims in the moment of her triumph excited a general wonder which was rather contemptuous than admiring, she had emerged from the war with her imperial destinies assured and with a relative increase of power and wealth and prestige greater than any state in Europe.

The reward of Britain.

When the powers undertook to settle Europe, the great rulers intended not merely to arrive at satisfactory territorial arrangements which took little if any account of the prejudices or susceptibilities of populations, but also to guard against any more cataclysmic disturbances of the

Tsar Alexander.

divinely appointed social order. They did not concur in the British view that the states should be left to organise and alter their own governments after their own fashion. The Tsar, who had always been a theoretical advocate of the principles of liberty, was anxious to see those principles as he understood them recognised in a Europe restored to order after twenty-five years of upheavals. The reinstated princes were all encouraged to make promises of constitutions which were to be granted to their subjects, more or less based upon the British model. For Britain and Russia were the only two powers which had never bowed the knee to Napoleon, and the success with which Britain had resisted him was attributed in some degree to the merits of the British constitution. So also the Tsar conceded a constitution to Poland. But the Tsar's conceptions of liberty were superficial; his idea of autocracy was fundamental. It was good for the peoples to be permitted to take a share in the government; but kings derived their authority not from the peoples but from God, whose vicegerents they were, and to whom alone they were responsible. The prince was the father of his people; he was bound in conscience to rule them for their good; but he was to judge, not they, to what extent he was to be guided by their wishes and their judgments; nor had they any right to rebel against his decrees whether as a matter of fact these decrees were beneficent or no.

The Holy Alliance.

So the Tsar bound his brother potentates of Austria and Prussia in a Holy Alliance by which they pledged themselves to act up to his own ideals. All Christian princes of Europe were invited to join the alliance; the invitation was not extended to the sultan, because he was not a Christian prince. The princes acceded cheerfully, with the exception of the British prince regent—the old king, now hopelessly and permanently insane, obviously could not join, and it was pointed out politely that in fact no king of Great Britain could enter such an alliance because as a constitutional monarch he was in the hands of parliament and could not follow his own devices. Moreover, the Holy Alliance pledged itself to maintain the lawful authority of monarchies by joint action against revolutionary

subjects; and although the British government had not yet recovered from the nightmare fear of Jacobinism, the British people could not see any reason why other people should not follow the example which they had themselves set in securing the right of constitutional government. Their sympathies were certain to be in favour of what they recognised as strictly constitutional movements. The Tsar and the king of Prussia were both quite honestly convinced that they were actuated by the highest motives, a deep religious sense of their responsibilities. But there were two sides to their programme. One was beneficent government, the other the upholding of authority; and the weak point of the whole position was that joint action was to apply only to the second part of the programme, but not to the first. Consequently, since the rest of the European princes and their ministers felt no obligation to carry out sentimental pledges, the Holy Alliance practically degenerated into a league for the joint suppression of popular movements wherever they might arise and the absolute authority of any potentate within his own dominions might appear to be threatened.

Democracy and nationalism.

Now the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars had sown all over Europe seeds which were not to be eradicated, seeds which were germinating and developing all through the nineteenth century. The Revolution had given birth to a democratic movement threefold in character, political, social, and economic, and the Napoleonic wars to a nationalist movement. The settlement of 1815 was antagonistic to both. Being dynastic, it ignored the claims of nationalism, treating as a unity such a heterogeneous empire as that of Austria, which included Germans, Slavs, Magyars, and Italians, while in Germany it prevented the unification of a German nation by preserving the particularism of a crowd of petty principalities. Being absolutist, it opposed the development of any form of popular government except on the initiative of the monarchs themselves. A system antagonistic to political was almost inevitably antagonistic also to social and economic democracy. Consequently the internal history of every state in Europe during the nineteenth century is to

a great extent the history of the struggle against the settlement of 1815; a struggle in which both nationalism and democracy play their parts, sometimes independently and sometimes in alliance. In that struggle the sympathies of the reigning monarchs in Europe were habitually enlisted on the side of the settlement. But the sympathies of Britain, which had long ago won constitutional liberties, were always on the side of constitutional movements; and since England and Scotland had solved for themselves their own problem of unification and nationalism, British sympathies were also invariably favourable to nationalist movements in Europe. We shall find therefore that British statesmen, while habitually adopting the line of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of European states, so far acted up to the national sympathies as to advocate and sometimes to insist vigorously that the rule of non-intervention should be observed by others as well as by themselves. British intervention in short was limited to 'keeping the ring' when contests were going on, with greater or less vigour according to the character of the minister who directed foreign policy.

The Concert of Europe.

While the European settlement was antagonistic to political emancipation, seeking so far as it could to revert to the system as it had been before 1789, wherein it was fighting against progressive forces too strong to be crushed out, it has another side which is deserving of praise. The congress of Vienna was the first tentative effort at formulating the idea of a European concert, of a community of European interests, of common consultation and action for the preservation of the general peace. If we look at our own history, we see that Great Britain was at war with France, and frequently with Spain as well as with France, during one half of the years between 1689 and 1815. In all but one of those wars Austria was also habitually engaged, and frequently Prussia. These were wars between the powers for possession of territory. For forty years after Waterloo there were practically no wars between European powers; the wars which took place were insurrectionary, between rulers and their subjects. The international peace was preserved till another Napoleon was emperor of the French.

A European conflagration continued with short intervals from 1688 to 1713, another from 1733 to 1738, another from 1740 to 1748, another from 1755 to 1763, and another from 1792 to 1815. But from 1815 to the Armageddon of 1914 there has been no European conflagration, though there have been great conflicts between individual powers—Prussia and Austria, Germany and France, and twice between Russia and Turkey, French and British intervening in the Crimean War; and only recently the concert availed to localise the struggle in the Balkans, though the great conflagration was only postponed. Till 1914, Britain has been involved in no war in Europe except that in the Crimea. Here is a very striking contrast between the last century and the hundred and twenty-five years which preceded it, to go no further back. And it cannot be questioned that the contrast is in part at least due not so much to the actual settlement at Vienna as to the idea of the European concert which was then formulated.

II. Castlereagh, 1815-1822

The Holy Alliance came into being in September 1815. It was not joined by Britain, formally because it was an agreement between sovereigns to which it was impracticable for the British sovereign to become a party, actually because the British ministers either regarded it as visionary or distrusted the sincerity of the Tsar's intentions. In November however a quadruple alliance between Russia, Austria, Prussia and Great Britain was formed which, rather than the Holy Alliance itself, was the progenitor of the European concert. Expressly the four powers guaranteed the second Treaty of Paris and the principles of the preceding treaties, united to preserve the public peace, and agreed that congresses should meet at intervals to consult upon the common interests. In the nature of the case the three autocrats of the East were in closer correspondence, and as their absolutist tendencies became more marked their proceedings were popularly associated with the

The Quadruple Alliance.

Quadruple Alliance, and Castlereagh was commonly accused of lending them his support; though as a matter of fact he was primarily responsible for restraining their energies to a very considerable degree. Canning, when he succeeded to the Foreign Office in 1822, was more uncompromising in his insistence upon non-intervention, and less afraid of taking the risk of bringing on war by that insistence; but, in fact, there was less danger from Canning's vigorous methods in the years when he was in office than there would have been at an earlier date, and also the objectionable features of the policy of the autocrats were more pronounced.

In the first years after Waterloo, however, the problems of foreign policy were less prominent. Home affairs occupied the leading place. Peace appeared to be more disastrous than war. Europe was too much impoverished to provide at once an immense market for British goods. The reduced demand for war materials was bad for the iron and steel industries, and there was much unemployment. In the natural course of events the influx of foreign corn would have brought down the price of bread, and so far the condition of the poorer classes would have been relieved. But events were not permitted to take their natural course. The agricultural interest had flourished greatly upon the war. The country had been obliged to live upon home-grown supplies, and every acre upon which crops could be raised had been brought under cultivation. It paid the farmers to do so when they were getting war prices for what they produced—the enormous war prices of the last years. If war prices were not maintained, a quantity of land would go out of cultivation because it would no longer pay. Numbers of agricultural labourers would be thrown out of work. The country would cease to produce sufficient corn to feed itself with its growing population, and the next war would bring hideous disaster. Incidentally, landowners and farmers would have to curtail the rate of living to which they had become accustomed; in a word, the agricultural interest would be ruined.

Economic disturbance.

All the peers and the majority of the members of the House

of Commons were landowners to whom these arguments appealed forcibly; and the Corn Law of 1815 was passed which prohibited the import of corn except when the price of wheat was above 80s. Even that did not save a good deal of the land which had been brought under the plough from reverting to waste; but on the other hand it kept the price of bread portentously high, though not as high as in the worst years. Unemployment, its inevitable concomitant of low wages, and the high cost of living, had combined to drive the working classes to unreasoning desperation, since men are not given to reasoning calmly upon empty stomachs. In their eyes, labour-saving machinery was a thing that robbed them of employment and took the bread out of their mouths; it was useless to tell them that its effect would be to provide increased employment to the next generation after they themselves were dead of starvation. Mobs of labourers clamouring for employment which they could not get, for higher wages, for cheaper bread, smashed up machinery and burnt down barns and ricks. Apart from the Corn Law, which kept up the price of bread without saving the farmers from collapse after the recent inflation, the causes of the distress were economic, and could not be laid to the door of the government; but popular opinion held ministers and the governing classes responsible. A year after Waterloo the mob smashed the duke of Wellington's windows; but because Castlereagh was the most prominent personality in the government, it was upon Castlereagh that its unpopularity centred.

The 1815 Corn Law.

Riots.

It was a matter of course that the populace should attribute their distress to political instead of to economic causes. It was hardly less natural that the government attributed disturbances born of acute distress to political agitators who of course fomented them. From 1791 onwards the rulers of the nation had been convinced that the one answer to political agitation was forcible repression. There are times when forcible repression becomes a stern necessity if order is to be preserved at all; but the mere fact that it has become necessary is in itself a proof of the presence of an evil

Government's policy of repression.

which force cannot cure, and for which a real remedy must be found. The fault of the Liverpool administration lies in the fact that it looked to repression alone without making any adequate attempt either to alleviate distress—which like the use of force is of only temporary utility—or to find a remedy for the causes of distress.

This attitude of the government in its turn intensified the popular conviction that the cause of the distress was political, that the governing classes were guided solely by the determination to guard their own class interests, and that the remedy for all the troubles was to be found in the acquisition of political power by the masses who did not possess it. Intelligent leaders like Cobbett might pin their faith to constitutional agitation and demand parliamentary reform which should give to the masses a real representation in parliament; but the government saw no distinction between such persons and the unintelligent agitators whose cry appeared to be 'Down with everything.'

Popular demand for political power.

In December 1816, the Spafields riot, headed by demagogues, confirmed the alarmist fears of the authorities, though the rioters were very easily dispersed. In March 1817, bills were passed for the suppression of seditious meetings, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for four months. Derbyshire became the scene of great disorder and lawlessness, and the unrest in the neighbourhood of Manchester caused it to be regarded as a revolutionary centre. Sidmouth as home secretary was directly responsible for the repressive activities of the government, though there was no diversity of opinion in the ministry, which now included Canning, who joined it in 1816 as president of the Board of Control, and was now working in harmony with Castlereagh. Extreme indignation was excited by an instruction issued by Sidmouth to the magistrates that persons charged on oath with seditious libel might be apprehended and held to bail. The government gained nothing because the prosecutions which followed were rarely succeeded by convictions; and a bookseller named Hone was acquitted on three several charges by juries, in spite of the

1817. Repressive measures.

obvious efforts of the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, to obtain convictions.

A rich harvest in this year alleviated the distress, and the ferment in 1818 was less. A general election increased the strength of the Opposition. The transfer of fifteen votes, counting thirty on a division, was more significant than it appears to us, since only some hundred elections were contested. But in 1818 there occurred the singularly unfortunate incident of Peterloo, otherwise called the Manchester Massacre. The magistrates permitted an immense assembly to gather in St. Peter's Fields, and then attempted to arrest the leaders, employing the military for the purpose. The result was that the crowd was dispersed; but although only some half-dozen persons were actually cut down, several more were killed in the crush and some hundreds were seriously injured. Obviously the magistrates had blundered grossly in their methods, and a storm of indignation was excited; but ministers upheld their action uncompromisingly, and thereby increased their own unpopularity.

1818. Peterloo.

Then they went on to pass a drastic code known as the Six Acts for the suppression of disorder and sedition. On the government hypothesis that there was a serious danger of armed insurrection, three of the six were entirely reasonable, being directed chiefly to the prevention of arming and drilling. A fourth was insignificant. A fifth, directed to the suppression of seditious publications, was little more than a dead letter from the beginning. But the sixth, which prohibited any large assemblies unless summoned by the principal authorities of the county or the borough, was a practical denial of the right of public meeting and free speech. Such a measure could only be justified in a very extreme emergency as a temporary expedient for the immediate prevention of civil war. The government believed that such an emergency had arisen; but the general verdict has entirely refused to endorse that extreme view.

The Six Acts.

While government had failed to suggest any remedy for the unrest except stringent repression so far as concerned the proletariat and their interests, and sought to protect the landed and

agricultural interests by the Corn Law, the commercial classes too were suffering seriously from the disturbance of equilibrium consequent upon the change from a state of war to a state of peace, while measures were still in force which had been adopted in order to meet the conditions of the former stage. Even while the war was going on, the suspension of cash payments by the bank was recognised by financial experts, though not by the government, as a cause of financial instability. It was not till 1819 that the whole question was investigated by a Bullion Committee under the chairmanship of Robert Peel. In accordance with the report of that committee the gradual resumption of cash payments was resolved upon, to be completed in 1823. The wisdom of that measure was fully demonstrated by the fact that two years before the stipulated time the bank was able to undertake the payment of gold for its notes at sight.

1819. Resumption of cash payments.

The revolutionary spirit which, however much it may have been exaggerated by panic, was undoubtedly present in the country, was fostered by the character and position of the royal family. The moral character of the prince regent was about as bad as it could be; moral scandals of varying magnitude were associated with the names of nearly all his six brothers. The royal family was in fact held in general contempt; and the respect for the institution of monarchy was proportionately lowered. Politicians might regard the monarchy as a necessity, but loyalty was centred upon one person, the prince regent's daughter Charlotte, the sole representative of the royal family in the next generation. There were great popular rejoicings when a husband was found for her in the person of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; but in November 1817, within a year of her marriage, the Princess Charlotte died. Large as was the family of George III., there was every prospect that within a few years there would be no legitimate heirs of his body living. Hence, in 1818, the three unmarried sons, William, duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV.), Edward of Kent, and Adolphus of Cambridge took wives, and in 1819 there were fresh rejoicings when a daughter, Victoria, was born to the duke of Kent, the

The royal family.

fourth of the series of brothers. For the fifth, Ernest, duke of Cumberland, was so detested that his accession to the throne might very possibly have precipitated a revolution and perhaps the overthrow of the monarchy.

In 1820 the old king died. During the last years of his life insanity and blindness had withdrawn him entirely from the public eye. For practical purposes the accession of the prince regent as George IV. made no difference. For the past eight years he had been discharging the regal functions, and his reign had virtually begun when he became prince regent.

1820. Accession of George IV., January.

George III. died in January. In February, the world was startled by the discovery of what is known as the Cato Street conspiracy. Simple assassination plots directed against the reigning monarch and associated with the idea of general insurrection had been familiar in English history only in the two reigns of Elizabeth and William III. But the Cato Street conspiracy was a plot to murder all the members of the ministry at a cabinet dinner, an exploit which was to be the signal for revolution. For the revolution itself there were apparently no serious preparations; among the conspirators there were no persons of any consequence, even no prominent demagogues. The ministers received timely information; they did not assemble to dine at the appointed place; and the conspirators themselves were surprised in a body at their rendezvous in Cato Street, from which the whole affair takes its name. Eleven of them were captured after a fierce resistance, of whom five were executed; the death sentence on the other six was changed to transportation for life. The rest escaped. The whole affair pointed to no widespread or deep-seated design. It was nothing more than an insane plot on the part of a few desperadoes; but it would never have been concocted if the desperadoes themselves at least had not believed that the country was only waiting for a spark to kindle a huge conflagration. The only practical effect was to enable ministers to point to it as a proof that their policy of repression had been dictated not by panic but by a really imminent danger.

The Cato Street conspiracy, February.

There was less danger to the monarchy from the plottings of fanatics than from the discredit which the new king brought upon it. Married morganatically when a young man to a Roman Catholic lady of irreproachable virtue, he had shortly afterwards publicly denied that marriage and wedded the youthful Princess Caroline of Brunswick. Then he and she had quarrelled. The lady's conduct in its most favourable interpretation had been frivolous, indiscreet, and unseemly; the husband's had been absolutely intolerable. Still the worst charges had not been actually brought home to Caroline. For many years the royal couple had lived apart; but when George IV. became king his wife came forward to demand recognition as queen. The government replied by introducing a bill in the House of Lords to deprive her of the title and dissolve the marriage. She had always enjoyed a degree of public sympathy; public feeling ran extremely high while the bill was under discussion, and Canning, whose sympathies were with her, felt that he could no longer remain in the ministry. The matter became to a great extent a party affair; and when the government majority in the House of Lords on the third reading fell to nine, the government realised that the bill was certain to be defeated in the Commons, and withdrew it. The queen lost a good deal of her somewhat fictitious popularity by an extremely ill-directed and unseemly attempt to insist upon being crowned with the king at his coronation ceremony; which she survived, however, only a few weeks. In the contemporary records the story looms exceedingly large; its real political importance lies only in the increased discredit which it brought upon the Crown by the public exposure and public discussion of the improprieties in the private lives of royal personages.

1820-1. The king and the queen.

In December the government was strengthened by the accession to it of the Marquess Wellesley, an advocate of Catholic emancipation, who was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Shortly afterwards, Sidmouth, without leaving the cabinet, resigned the home secretaryship, which was conferred upon Robert Peel. The former

1821. Cabinet changes, December.

was a significant, and the latter an important change. But another of still greater consequence was to follow. Castlereagh, who had recently succeeded to his father's earldom of Londonderry, was on the point of leaving London in August to represent the country at a European congress, when the heavy strain and the bitter unpopularity which he had borne for so long broke down his brain, and he died by his own hand. Lord Liverpool at once offered the post of foreign secretary, together with the leadership of the House of Commons, to Canning, who had just accepted appointment as governor-general of India. Not without reluctance Canning resigned India and acceded to the offer, which made him at once the central figure of the government.

1822. Death of Castlereagh, August.

The policy of Lord Liverpool's government during the ten years when Castlereagh was at the Foreign Office is to be identified, as it was in his own time, with Castlereagh. If he was not the prime mover in domestic affairs, the public at any rate always saw his influence in the background and detested him accordingly. He was the representative of the Toryism which feared mob rule above all things, trusted in 'resolute' government, and believed with intense conviction not only that authority must be upheld, but that it could not be upheld if it allowed itself to be subjected to rancorous criticism. It may be contended that revolution could be resisted only by the methods of reaction, that those methods were in fact successful, and that their employment was dictated not by any selfish consideration of class interest, but by a genuine public spirit. After the victory of reform it became almost impossible to look with sympathy upon the old Toryism, even to attempt to understand it. Yet to men who actually remembered the events of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror, Jacobinism did not present itself as a bogy, but as a real, ever-present menace. They had seen the ardent advocates of just reforms swept away and overwhelmed by the revolutionary forces which they found themselves powerless to restrain. This was what they feared in England, and it was this which determined them never to suffer the revolutionary forces

Castlereagh's domestic policy.

to be let loose. It is easy enough to see how the government in those years did actually intensify instead of removing the causes of the evils of which the revolutionary propaganda was not the source but the symptom. For us it is not so easy to recognise that the error committed was an error of judgment, of diagnosis, not the outcome of malignant intention. If the government had embarked on a course of social reform, it would not have thereby opened the floodgates of revolution; but it was misled by the precedent of 1789 into imagining that it would. For that imagination it was not wholly without some reasonable excuse. But until comparatively recent years Castlereagh was judged with the judgment of the Opposition of his own day, which dominated historical criticism for fifty years after the Reform Bill, and it has only gradually become possible to revise the old condemnatory estimates, to recognise that though he was a reactionary he was a man of high principle, keen insight, and strong determination, whose fate it was to control the helm of state in one of the most difficult and complex periods of our history.

Principles of his foreign policy.

Just as the key to the domestic policy of Castlereagh and the Tory government is to be found in their dread of the forces of anarchy, so the key to their foreign policy is to be found in their dread of another European conflagration. In the former case, the course they adopted was that of an uncompromising insistence upon authority at the expense of liberty, for which they have been not less uncompromisingly condemned. But in the latter case they have been condemned with less justice not for asserting themselves too much, but for not asserting themselves enough; for allowing themselves to be dragged in the wake of the Holy Alliance. Posterity has confirmed the adverse verdict in the first case; though with distinctly modified severity in recent years, at least as regards the judgment passed on their motives. But the condemnation of Castlereagh's foreign policy has been almost reversed, since it had been realised that the principles upon which Castlereagh acted were the principles upon which Canning acted also; that Castlereagh's efforts, like Canning's,

were directed to withholding the Holy Alliance from intervening in the domestic affairs of other states; that his endeavours were crowned with a very considerable degree of success; and that the apparent change under Canning only corresponded to an increasing disposition towards intervention on the part of the great monarchies.

In the three years which followed the settlement of 1815 the restored governments were showing markedly reactionary tendencies. In 1818 the five great powers met at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. At that congress it was the influence of Castlereagh and Wellington which secured the withdrawal of the allied troops from French soil, and the definite reinstatement of France no longer as suspect and under surveillance, but as one of the five powers responsible for the peace of Europe. Moreover, it was British influence which at this congress definitely rejected the idea that the great powers should form a league claiming the right to regulate the domestic concerns of other states. The same influence procured the agreement that congresses should assemble not at regular intervals, but only to deal with specific questions; and that if such specific questions concerned primarily minor states, the congresses should be held only on the invitation of such states, which should themselves be admitted to participate in the consultations of the congress.

1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

But by 1820, the reactionary zeal of the governments in Spain, Portugal, and the Sicilies brought about popular revolts. Metternich, the real ruler of Austria, was determined to intervene in Italy; with some justification, because the Austrian dominion in North Italy might be seriously affected by a revolution in the south. Alexander, with no corresponding excuse, was eager to suppress the Spanish revolt by force of arms. Castlereagh declared definitely that any intervention on the part of the powers would be a breach of the rights of sovereign states, and a contravention of the principles laid down at Aix-la-Chapelle. Nevertheless, a conference of the powers was assembled at Troppau. France did not participate. The British government contented itself with a declara-

1820. Congress of Troppau.

tion that although it might be legitimate for Austria to intervene in South Italy if her own interests were jeopardised, there must be no joint intervention on the part of the powers. But Russia, Austria, and Prussia issued a joint declaration under which they bound themselves in effect to suppress, if necessary by force of arms, revolutions in other states which set a dangerous example. Although France expressed a general approval, Castlereagh responded by a very emphatic protest, declaring that the principles enunciated could not be endorsed by the British government, and could not be reconciled with the independent authority of sovereign states. Still he was unable to restrain the intervention of Austria for the restoration of Ferdinand's power in the Sicilies.

Then, in 1821, the Greeks revolted against the Turkish dominion, and the French monarchy, with the approval of the Eastern powers, was threatening intervention on its own account in Spain. As concerned the Greek revolt, it was palpably a revolutionary movement directed against the Turkish government, and as such to be condemned. On the other hand, the Russian interest in the dismemberment of Turkey was a strong inducement to Russia to intervene on behalf of the Greeks, and to turn the intervention to her own territorial advantage. And at the same time the Spanish colonies in South America were in revolt. Were they to be treated as rebels or as belligerents? A state of affairs had arisen which did clearly demand a conference of the powers, which was summoned to meet at Vienna and Verona in 1822.

1821. The Greek revolt.

Again Wellington and Castlereagh were to be the British representatives. Castlereagh's intentions were made clear in a memorandum drafted for the guidance of Wellington until he should himself be able to join the conference. Britain was to reject entirely the principle of joint intervention; the revolution in Spain was a matter to be dealt with by Spain and Spain alone. As to the Spanish colonies, Britain claimed for herself the right to recognise as independent states the colonies which in her opinion had established a *de facto* independence. But this

1822. Congress of Verona.

Castlereagh's memorandum.

was a matter of individual, not of concerted, action ; and none of the powers would be warranted in helping either the revolts or their suppression. The question of Italy was not to be discussed at all. As to the Eastern question, every effort was to be made to reconcile the quarrel between Russia and Turkey, but with regard to Greece there should be no joint action either for the suppression of the Greek revolt or for the recognition of Greek independence. It was precisely upon the principles laid down in this memorandum that Canning acted when he became foreign minister, and that Castlereagh was resolved to act, down to the moment when he took his own life.

III. Canning, 1822-1827

Although the epoch of reform was still some years away in 1822, that year may be taken as marking the close of the period of reaction. Hitherto it had been possible, though not with justice, to reproach the government for giving moral support to the absolutist movement on the Continent ; after 1822 the only complaint that could be made of it, except during a brief interval after Canning's death, was that it went too far in expressing its sympathies with populations which were in revolt under constitutional or nationalist banners. Down to 1822 it had seemed too much concerned with upholding the majesty of the law to give adequate consideration to the justice which the law administered ; after 1822, the Home Office under Peel became engaged on an active reformation of the criminal code. Until 1822 it had been singularly deficient in financial ability, and to the last had clung to all the extremely unsatisfactory financial expedients which had been forced upon Pitt by the war ; after 1822, Huskisson, at the Board of Trade, and Frederick Robinson, afterwards Lord Goderich, at the Exchequer, took up the tradition of Pitt's progressive finance at the stage where the war had diverted its course. The moment had not yet come for reopening the question of Catholic emancipation, but the coming event had been foreshadowed by the

1822. A landmark.

appointment of Lord Wellesley as viceroy and of William Plunket as attorney-general in Ireland at the close of 1821; while Canning himself, as a devoted adherent of Pitt, had been its advocate from the beginning. Also by 1822, the period of the most extreme distress, of manufacturing and commercial instability and depression, was passing; and with it was passing also the lawlessness and disorder which had been its outcome, though this last improvement was not unnaturally attributed by the government to the firmness with which it had held down the forces of anarchy.

The criminal code.

There were two reasons for revising the criminal code. The first was its barbarity, and the second its inefficiency. There were as many as two hundred offences, from petty larceny up to murder, which rendered the criminal liable to the death penalty. It was true that for most of these crimes the death sentence was rarely carried out; yet transportation, a terrible punishment for every one, but especially so for youthful offenders, was a not unusual substitute. The code was based not upon any apportionment of the penalty to the magnitude of the crime, but upon the theory that crimes easy to commit and offering strong temptation can only be checked by a correspondingly painful deterrent. The system as a deterrent was a failure, and at the same time the conscience of the community was outraged when the penalty paid was out of all proportion to the offence committed. The system failed for two reasons. Juries declined to convict even in the face of convincing evidence, because conviction would carry with it perhaps death, and if not death at least a monstrously harsh penalty. And instead of checking minor crimes the system encouraged the committal of greater crimes. The man who knew that he would suffer death or transportation if he were convicted for stealing, ran no additional risk if he committed murder in order to effect his own escape. Thomas More in his *Utopia* had pointed out in 1615 how the brutality of the criminal code defeated its own objects; and since 1615 the criminal code had been made not less but more Draconic.

Failure of the system.

For more than twenty years past, Romilly, and after Romilly

Sir James Mackintosh, had been striving persistently to awaken the public conscience to the enormities of the existing system. Except for nine months during 1827, Peel was at the Home Office from 1822 till the end of 1830. During that period, half the capital offences were struck off the list at one blow, and the number was still further heavily reduced. The strange survival by which 'benefit of clergy' could still be pleaded for criminal offences was finally abolished. Peel was responsible also for sundry improvements in criminal procedure, and in prisons; and for an invaluable preventive measure, the establishment of the metropolitan police force, popularly nicknamed after him 'Peelers' or 'Bobbies,' in place of the ancient watchmen known as 'Charlies,' whose efficiency had scarcely been increased since Shakespeare held them up to ridicule.

Peel's revision.

At the beginning of 1823, Vansittart, the extremely incompetent chancellor of the exchequer, resigned that post, to which Robinson was promoted from the presidency of the Board of Trade, where he was succeeded by William Huskisson. Huskisson at once proceeded to extend those principles in the regulation of commerce which Pitt, under the influence of Adam Smith's doctrine, had begun to apply during the years of peace between 1784 and 1792. The root principle of the doctrine was that the development of trade should be left to the self-interest, energy, and enterprise of individuals; and that in general at least state regulation should be limited to taxation for the single purpose of providing revenue. That doctrine could not be applied suddenly and in its entirety without an exceedingly violent dislocation of the existing system, which had been developed in every country in Europe, on the hypothesis that it was the business of the state to make the country self-supporting, to foster home production of every kind by the artificial exclusion or partial exclusion of competing foreign goods, and in particular to protect those employments, notably agriculture and shipping, upon which the national strength depended. Pitt had not been able to go far in the direction of removing protective duties, because every protected trade saw itself threatened with ruin if

Huskisson at the Board of Trade.

A disciple of Adam Smith.

faced by unrestrained competition. But on another side, Adam Smith's doctrine completely displaced that of the old mercantile theory, and the regulation of trade with the object of increasing the import and preventing the export of bullion ceased to be advocated. On another side Pitt had developed the financial practice of which Walpole and Henry Pelham had been effective exponents long before Adam Smith, and had recognised the principle that low duties realise a larger revenue than high duties, because high duties are an inducement to smuggling, while with low duties the bulk of the goods on which they are paid is increased.

Progress of the doctrine.

Now, during the last thirty years a material change had taken place. The protected trades and employments were as firmly convinced as ever that they would be ruined by the removal of tariffs. But new trades had grown up, and expanded enormously with the development of machinery, which absolutely defied foreign competition. Those trades did not want to be protected themselves; and whereas the agricultural interest procured for itself the protective Corn Law of 1815, the merchants of London and of Edinburgh were in 1820 presenting petitions urging that duties, being restrictions on trade, should be imposed only for revenue purposes. Free imports, they argued, diminish the home production only of those goods which can be produced more cheaply elsewhere; the production of such goods ought not to be artificially fostered, as the real effect is to divert the productive energies of the country from channels in which they would be more usefully employed; and further, competition has the wholesome effect of inducing producers to search for cheaper methods of production. These views were generally endorsed by a royal commission appointed to inquire into the whole question.

The Navigation Acts out of date.

The Navigation Acts were the most conspicuous of the checks upon the free flow of commerce. They had been created essentially with a political rather than an economic object in view, in order to develop British shipping and British sea-power, and to diminish Dutch shipping and Dutch sea-power. Such in particular had been the definite intention of the Commonwealth Navigation Act and

the Navigation Act of the Restoration, the earlier Acts not having been directed against any particular power. Within fifty years of the Restoration, the English instead of the Dutch had become the great maritime carriers, and it is at least difficult not to attribute that change in a quite substantial degree to the Navigation Acts. An economist so convinced of the benefits of unfettered trade as Adam Smith himself was satisfied that the development of shipping and of sea-power resulting from those Acts had been invaluable politically and beneficial economically; the great acquisition of transmarine and oceanic trade having been the outcome of fighting superiority at sea. Other critics, however, have argued that the development of British and the decline of Dutch sea-power in the latter half of the seventeenth century were an inevitable result of the conditions of competition, and were not materially advanced by the Navigation Acts. On that point the data do not permit of a dogmatic pronouncement. But when Huskisson came to the Board of Trade, the Navigation Acts had done their work. British shipping and the British navy had entirely distanced all competitors, and no longer required to be fostered artificially.

Retaliation threatened.

Moreover, there was an attendant danger threatening. Every state with a maritime commerce resented the embargo imposed by the Navigation Acts, which excluded from every British port merchandise brought in foreign bottoms unless produced in the country by whose ships it was carried. There were warnings that unless the navigation laws were relaxed the Continent would retaliate by closing its ports to British shipping. Napoleon's continental system had indeed shown that in time of war the peoples of the Continent would suffer by such a process more than the British people; but in time of peace the British fleets could not be brought into play, and foreign ports which refused to admit British shipping could not be blockaded. In a tariff war or war of exclusion the probabilities perhaps were that victory would have lain with the British, and the Continent would have found itself obliged to yield; but the result could not be looked upon as certain, and in any case the victory would have been frightfully costly.

Taking these various considerations into view, Huskisson, in 1823, carried the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, which authorised the Administration to conclude treaties abolishing the existing restrictions with any powers which gave corresponding guarantees. Between 1824 and 1829 fifteen such treaties were made, to which others were subsequently added, although the Navigation Acts themselves were not actually repealed until 1849. There were as a matter of course clamours raised that British shipping would be ruined; but the prophecies of evil were contradicted by the event. In the course of the twenty years which followed Huskisson's Act, British shipping increased fifty per cent., whereas between 1803 and 1823 it had increased only ten per cent.

1823. Reciprocity of Duties Act.

With less success, Huskisson attacked the Corn Law of 1815. Neither he nor any other responsible statesman would have ventured to propose the total abolition of duties on foreign corn; protection of the agricultural interest appeared to be a necessity more imperative than the provision of bread at the lowest possible price. The object of Huskisson's proposals was to effect a compromise between the two interests at stake, those of the British producer and the consumer, by applying a sliding scale in place of the law which excluded foreign corn absolutely except when the home price was above 80s. a quarter. Huskisson's bill to establish a sliding scale was introduced in 1827, passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords under the influence of the duke of Wellington. In 1828, however, when the duke was actually at the head of the government, he retreated from the position he had previously adopted, and a bill was passed which placed a duty of 23s. on corn when the home price was under 64s., and reduced it by degrees to 1s. when the price was at or over 73s.

1828. Corn Law: the sliding scale.

The Reciprocity of Duties Act was a stride towards Free Trade; the sliding scale was a very tentative step in the same direction. Between those two measures, Huskisson succeeded in carrying the reduction of a number of duties, always with the same tendency. Iron having become the raw material of an immense amount of British manufacture, the

Tariff reforms.

duties on imported bar-iron were cut down by seventy per cent. There was a similar reduction in the duties on imported cotton goods, which did not trouble the British manufacturers, who could produce better and more cheaply than any of their competitors. Wool and woollens provide an interesting example of a case where the interests of two sets of British producers were diametrically opposed. In the interests of the manufacturer who wanted his wool as cheap as he could get it there was a long-established duty on exported wool, though at the same time there was a duty on the imported article. The wool-grower naturally wished to be allowed to export free, but to have the duty on imported wool maintained. The manufacturer wanted to have the export duty retained and the import duty removed. Huskisson retained but reduced both; whereby every one concerned benefited, for while the wool-growers found they had as good a market as before, the amount of imported wool increased largely, and both manufacturers and the revenue benefited. At the same time, the duties on the import of woollen goods were very much lowered without diminishing the market for the British article. Silk met with similar treatment. By almost removing the duty on raw silk—it was actually reduced ninety-five per cent.—Huskisson enormously diminished the cost of their raw material to the silk-spinners. Thus he was able also to reduce the duty on imported spun silk by fifty per cent. without hurting the spinners. This again reduced the cost of the raw material of the silk weavers; so that again Huskisson was able to put a thirty per cent. duty on French silks, instead of excluding them as heretofore. The silk manufacturers clamoured at this, as the spinners had clamoured at the reduction of the duty on spun silk, yet as in the case of wool every one benefited. Hitherto the demand for French silks, of which the importation was forbidden, had caused them to be smuggled into the country in large quantities. Now they came in by legitimate channels and provided a revenue; but at the same time the enterprise of the British manufacturers was so stirred by the legitimate competition that they set about improving their methods, and in a very short time had all but beaten the

Wool.

Silk.

French product out of the home field and were successfully competing with it in foreign markets.

If in all this Huskisson was the prime mover, he had a useful coadjutor in Robinson at the Exchequer, and the warm support of Canning, to whose special field of work we now turn. It was his business to give decisive effect to the principles laid down in the memorandum which Castlereagh had drawn up just before his death. Those principles may be summarised as British non-intervention in the private affairs of foreign states, coupled with insistence upon non-intervention on the part of other foreign powers. The distinctive feature of Canning's application of the principle is the practical manner in which he enforced the second as being a condition of the first, not a mere addendum, and the emphasis with which he revealed his own sympathy with the nationalist and constitutionalist movements.

Canning at the Foreign Office.

In Spain itself, Canning found himself unable to prevent the French intervention on behalf of the monarchy. But in his own oft-quoted phrase he 'called the new world in, to redress the balance of the old.' The Spanish government, having ceased to rule the colonies *de facto*, was neither able nor willing to protect British ships from perpetual outrages; and Canning had full warrant for recognising in rapid succession the independence of one colony after another; of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Peru, and others. When France threatened to intervene on the side of the monarchy, she was warned both by Britain and by the United States that such intervention would not be permitted. It was at this time that the famous Monroe doctrine was formulated by the American president, declaring that interference on the part of European powers in order to control the destiny of states in the continent of America would be regarded as an unfriendly act by the United States.

Canning and the Spanish colonies.

Similarly effective was Canning's treatment of Portugal. Thither King John had not returned from Brazil until 1821. Next year Brazil, having for a time enjoyed the position of the superior partner instead of being merely a dependency of Portugal, proclaimed itself an inde-

Canning and Portugal.

pendent empire under King John's eldest son Pedro. In Portugal, the reactionary and absolutist party, encouraged by events in Spain and headed by King John's second son Miguel, appealed to French and Spanish support; the constitutionalists, recognising Canning's obvious sympathies, appealed to Britain. Canning refused to intervene, but by sending a squadron to the Tagus he made it thoroughly clear that British non-intervention was conditional upon French non-intervention. Through Canning's mediation, King John recognised his son Pedro as emperor of an independent Brazil. On John's death in March 1826, Pedro proceeded to grant a constitution to Portugal, and at the same time resigned his own claim to its crown in favour of his seven-year-old daughter Maria, proposing that she should marry her uncle Miguel—for which there was ample precedent. Miguel wanted the crown for himself, rejected the proposals, and appealed to Spain to support him. Canning, with the utmost promptitude, dispatched a force to Portugal; whereupon Spain retired. As the British were there to support what was both *de facto* and *de jure* the government of Portugal, no exception could be taken to Canning's action by the Holy Alliance. During the next twelve months comparative peace reigned in Portugal.

1822-5. The Eastern question.

The Eastern question was still more complicated than the Spanish and Portuguese questions. Russia was restrained from intervening between Greeks and Turks; Britain and France abstained also. But in all three countries, for different reasons, there was a keen feeling of sympathy with the Greeks, and large numbers of volunteers, among them Lord Byron, were allowed to take part in the struggle. The sultan called in the aid of Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, and feeling was aroused the more by the savagery of his treatment of the Greeks. Early in 1823, Canning resolved to recognise the Greeks as belligerents for the same reason as in the case of the Spanish-American colonies. British commerce was suffering from piracy and violence, which the Porte could not or would not put down, while the Greek Provisional Government could not be appealed to unless it were first recognised. Next year, Russia again proposed

common intervention in order to carry out a compromise of her own, which would have placed her in a very strong position, while it was objected to intensely both by Turks and by Greeks. By the spring of 1825 the proposal was modified into a joint note offering mediation, which was rejected by the Porte. Then the Greeks offered to place themselves under British protection, and asked for a British king. This Canning of course declined, insisting that the British position was, and must be, one of neutrality, however sympathetic.

At the end of the year the Tsar Alexander died, and was succeeded by Nicholas I., a hard-headed person with none of his predecessor's peculiarities of temperament. In the spring of 1826 Wellington, accredited to St. Petersburg on a special mission, procured a treaty known as the Protocol of St. Petersburg, under which the two powers again offered to mediate on the basis of the concession of complete self-government to the Greeks, subject to the payment of a tribute to the Porte. The Porte still remained deaf to mediation, with the result that Britain and Russia, acting together, threatened to recognise the actual independence as a sovereign state of any portion of Greece which should in fact free itself from Turkish control. Austria, whose lead was regularly followed by Prussia, was, on the other hand, entirely hostile to the Greeks.

1825. Tsar Nicholas succeeds Alexander.

At the beginning of 1827 a paralytic seizure removed Lord Liverpool from all further participation in active politics, though he did not actually die till some time later. The result was that Canning was himself called upon to take the lead of the administration. Wellington, Peel, and others who distrusted Canning, resigned, thereby forcing Canning and his supporters to throw themselves largely on the support of the Whigs, with whom on all questions save that of parliamentary reform they were now in much closer sympathy than with the true Tories. It was the easier for Canning to carry out his own policy, and in July France joined with Russia and Britain in the Treaty of London, wherein they agreed jointly to enforce an armistice, and in effect to compel

1827. Canning prime minister.

the belligerents to accept their mediation on the lines of the St. Petersburg Protocol.

Canning's death in August placed Robinson, who had recently become Viscount Goderich, at the head of the administration, but it had lost all real strength with Canning's death. Its brief continuance was characterised by a single event of importance, the battle of Navarino. In accordance with the Treaty of London the allied fleets of France, Russia, and Britain went to the bay of Navarino, where an Egyptian fleet had recently joined the Turks. With the object of enforcing an armistice the British admiral Codrington informed Ibrahim that his ships would not be allowed to leave the bay. The Egyptians opened fire, whereupon the whole fleet was annihilated (October 26).

Canning's death, August.

Navarino, October.

But Goderich was quite incapable of carrying on the government. The ministry was dissolved, and in January 1828 Wellington reluctantly accepted the duty of forming an administration, with Peel as his right-hand man, and with practically no one but Huskisson and Palmerston to represent the Canningites.

From 1812 to 1827 there had been no formal change of ministry. Throughout the fifteen years, Liverpool remained its head with only occasional variations in the *personnel* of his colleagues. They all called themselves Tories, and they all regarded themselves as Pitt's disciples. But Pitt had been pre-eminently a practical politician who, while he believed in progressive theories, declined to apply them when the conditions appeared to him unfavourable. Consequently there were among his self-styled followers men who were eagerly awaiting the opportunity to put in practice the theories which he would himself have put in practice but for the war; while there were others who entirely repudiated those theories, as he had in effect repudiated them while the war was going on. Consequently, in Liverpool's cabinet there were vast divergencies of opinion, and when Canning succeeded to the Foreign Office on Castlereagh's death, he, along with Huskisson, Lord Wellesley, Robinson, and Palmerston were what we may call Progressive Pittites; while the Lord Chancellor Eldon, the duke of Wellington, Liverpool himself, and Peel were of the

reactionary school—in which Peel at least was very much out of place; for he was the victim of his own education, and spent his whole life in gradual realisation that he had ceased to believe in one after another of the doctrines which he had heretofore strenuously maintained.

IV. The last Tory Administration

What Wellington thought of Canning's policy was shown when he took the first opportunity to refer to Navarino as 'an untoward event.' Both in the East and in Portugal the consequences of the change of ministry were soon manifested. The British troops were withdrawn from Portugal, Miguel seized the control, and Portugal was again plunged into wild reaction and civil war until 1834, when Miguel was compelled to retire. In the East Britain under Wellington's guidance stood aside, and in effect left Russia to act by herself—which she did. Turkey declared war upon her, and surprised Europe by her initial successes in the conflict; but in August 1829 the Russians were at Adrianople and were able to impose their terms upon the Porte. Russia had accomplished single-handed the objects of the Treaty of London, which it had been precisely Canning's intention to prevent her from doing by herself. She secured the independence of Greece, though the final settlement with regard to that country was not completed till some time later when Palmerston was at the Foreign Office. But Russia had also gained what Canning had not intended: a virtual protectorate of the Turkish provinces on the north of the Danube, Wallachia, and Moldavia. From this time to the end of the nineteenth century British foreign policy was habitually dominated by the idea of Russian aggression, which had first taken hold of the younger Pitt, and had been active ever since the days of the Tsar Paul, who was more than suspected of designs upon India.

1828. Withdrawal from foreign affairs.

Advance of Russia.

Canning and the Canningites were not, so long as Canning still lived, advocates of electoral reform. But Tories as such were not antagonistic to Huskisson's commercial policy until the Corn

Law came within its scope; their interest in protection was almost exclusively in the protection of agriculture. Canning's foreign policy was in theory at least the same as Castlereagh's. Thus while Liverpool managed, the two groups could be held together. They differed positively on the question of Catholic emancipation, but so far it had been possible to keep that question in the background. But when Liverpool was incapacitated the differences came to the front. Canning's 'non-intervention' was growing alarmingly like intervention on behalf of the Nationalists and Constitutionalists, with whom he sympathised. Of all living men there was none more intensely averse from war than its greatest living master, the duke of Wellington; and in the duke's view Canning's excessive activity was fraught with danger. When Huskisson as a member of Canning's ministry proposed the corn sliding scale, it was the duke who destroyed the measure in the Upper House. The question of Catholic emancipation was becoming so acute that its settlement could not for very long be postponed. When Wellington, not without reluctance, consented to form a ministry in January 1828, it was certain that a reconstruction of parties was imminent, and all but certain that it would in effect take the form of a coalescence between the Canningites and the Whigs.

Tories and Canningites.

The rupture between Tories and Canningites was not immediately complete. Huskisson was a member of the ministry, though it was not long before he tendered his resignation, which was promptly accepted. The duke had his way, as we have seen, as concerned foreign policy; but at the very outset he had to retreat from the position he had formally taken up with regard to the Corn Law, and to adopt the sliding scale in its place. For Wellington had only taken up the command at the moment when the whole series of the Tory positions had become untenable. Wellington treated politics as he would have treated a military problem. He had taken office to defend the Crown, the constitution, and the country at large from what he conceived to be the dangers which threatened them. Nothing was to be gained by exposing the protecting force to annihilation; if he saw that one defensive

1828. The sliding scale adopted.

Wellington.

post was doomed he considered it his duty to fall back upon another, instead of courting destruction by holding on to the indefensible position till it was too late to retreat. As between the Corn Law and the sliding scale there was no question of principle involved; the change was merely a modification, a slight diminution of the amount of protection extended to the agricultural interest, a slight concession to the counter-claims of the consumer. Principle was more prominent in the next question which arose.

Test and Corporation Acts repealed.

The Test Act and Corporation Act had remained on the Statute Book ever since the days of Charles II.; always disliked by the uncompromising Whigs, but never repealed, because for fifty years after the Revolution the Whigs never dared to arouse the passion of religious controversy which would have accompanied any attempt at repeal. Walpole, after his own fashion, had adopted the more peaceable method of devising means for their habitual evasion, by annually passing a bill of indemnity for Nonconformists who had taken office without fulfilling the conditions laid down by the law. Nevertheless Anglican Toryism persisted in regarding the Acts as the safeguards of the Church and the constitution. Latterly they had been among the objects selected for attack by the Whig Opposition. Lord John Russell, who had constituted himself the champion of electoral reform in the House of Commons, in favour whereof he had since 1820 moved resolutions session after session which had been defeated with regularity, assailed also these obnoxious Acts. In 1828 he carried a resolution in favour of their repeal, against the government. The government accepted the situation; the sacramental test was abolished, and for it was substituted a simple declaration that the candidate for office would do nothing to subvert or injure the Protestant Established Church.

The question of Catholic emancipation.

In the next year came what the High Tories regarded as the great betrayal. Catholic emancipation was a subject which excited no enthusiasm in England, and more active hostility in Scotland. But in Ireland it had assumed primary importance. Irish Catholics had supported the Union chiefly because they had been led to anticipate

that Catholic emancipation would follow; whereas it was practically certain that so long as a Protestant Irish parliament existed Roman Catholics would not be admitted to any share of political power. But Catholic emancipation did not follow the Union, Catholics resented the Protestant ascendency more bitterly than ever after the rebellion of 1798, and when the whole question was shelved by the action of George III. after the Union had been carried out, they felt that they had been duped, and resented their position all the more. The movement, which hitherto had been directed by the Catholic aristocracy, was taken out of their hands, and its control was assumed by one of the most remarkable of Irishmen—Daniel O'Connell. In many respects a man of conservative instincts, O'Connell was endowed with a very exceptional power of moving masses of men by his emotional oratory. Not less exceptional were his abilities as an organiser; a trained lawyer, he had an extraordinary skill in avoiding breaches of the letter of the law; he habitually preached against bloodshed and violence, even while his harangues were calculated to inflame the passions of his hearers; and he might almost be called the creator of what has come to be known as 'constitutional agitation,' as the grand method of attaining his political ends.

The question in Ireland.

Daniel O'Connell.

In England the Catholic question was so far academic that its not infrequent discussion in parliament did not bring it prominently before the electorate; George IV. and all his brothers were opposed to any kind of Catholic relief almost as obstinately as their father. But in Ireland, when O'Connell took up the agitation, he made it an essentially popular movement, sweeping in the masses of the Catholic peasantry and calling in the vigorous co-operation of the Roman Catholic priesthood, themselves for the most part sprung from the peasant class. In 1823 he formed the Catholic Association; the large subscriptions, collected for the most part in very small sums, were utilised partly for organisation, partly to enable the peasantry to fight their landlords—often with success—in the law courts. The association was suppressed in 1825 by a bill carried for that purpose, though without support from the

The Catholic Association.

viceroy Lord Wellesley; but only with the effect that the association was reconstituted with alterations which placed it outside the operation of the Act.

The parliamentary franchise had been extended to Roman Catholics in Ireland in 1793, and forty-shilling freeholders enjoyed the vote. In order to strengthen their own position, many Irish landlords created a number of forty-shilling freeholders on their own estates, reckoning on being able to command their votes. But the influence of the priest began to prove more powerful than that of the landlord; the vote of the forty-shilling freeholders defeated the Beresford interest in Waterford immediately after the defeat of a relief bill at Westminster in 1825. In 1828 Peel was already coming to the conclusion that the state of Ireland demanded Catholic emancipation in spite of his own aversion from that measure. His lingering doubts were dispelled by the Clare election. The member for Clare, Vesey Fitzgerald, was appointed to the Board of Trade when Huskisson and the rest of the Canningites retired from the ministry. The appointment necessitated re-election. O'Connell, though as a Catholic he was debarred from sitting in parliament, stood for the constituency and headed the poll. The election was conducted in a perfectly orderly manner without violence, though not without violent language.

1828. The Clare election, July.

Peel was satisfied that, in the face of such a demonstration, the demand for emancipation could no longer be resisted. In the course of the next few months he had convinced Wellington that, unless Catholic emancipation were conceded, there would be civil war in Ireland; and Wellington was not prepared to face civil war. Having come to the conclusion that Catholic emancipation must be conceded, he judged also that it was his duty to conduct the retreat himself. Peel had qualms about assuming responsibility for a measure which hitherto he had consistently opposed, and tendered his resignation. This he was induced to withdraw, but resigned his seat for the constituency which had elected him, the university of Oxford, was defeated at the new election, and had to find another seat elsewhere. The king's resistance gave

Conversion of Peel and Wellington.

way when he was faced by the resignation of the ministers, and found that no alternative ministry could be formed.

In March 1829 Peel introduced the bill in the House of Commons. Virtually it swept away all the disabilities of Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom, excluding them only from the offices of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England, Viceroy of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Peel in the Commons defended the bill on the plain ground not that it was desirable in itself, but that it would effect the peaceable settlement of Ireland, and that nothing short of it would do so. Wellington in the Lords defended it on the plain ground that it was the only alternative to civil war. In the Commons the bill was carried by majorities of about two to one. In the Lords, despite the resistance of the old Tories, the third reading was carried by a majority of 104.

1829. Catholic emancipation carried.

That Catholic emancipation was a measure of simple justice, that a religious creed is a matter of private conscience and private conviction which ought not to carry with it political disabilities, is now generally admitted. But in judging the opposition to it, we must not forget that it was not solely the outcome of religious bigotry. The intolerance of papistry as distinct from any other creed rested primarily upon the definitely political ground, that the Papacy had never resigned its claim to an allegiance overriding allegiance to the civil power. The papal doctrine that subjects owed no fealty to a heretic monarch had been the original ground of the penal laws against Roman Catholics; though in the nineteenth century any real danger of the application of that doctrine was a thing of the past, it was still possible to believe that it was a real danger which might again arise in the future. But as concerned popular hostility to Catholic emancipation in 1829, outside of parliament, there could be no doubt that it rested, in Great Britain, on hostility to the Romanist creed and the conviction that if the Romanists ever acquired a political predominance they would employ it for the persecution of Protestantism. Popular imagination was still dominated by the fires

The political opposition.

The popular opposition.

of Smithfield and by the Gunpowder Plot, as it had been in the days of Titus Oates. As far as concerns Great Britain, where the Roman Catholics were and are only a small minority, these imaginations were morbid. As concerned Ireland there had before the Union been ample ground for fear that Catholic emancipation, giving political ascendency to the followers of the religion which for whatever reason had, as a matter of fact, been harshly repressed for centuries, would be turned to account in a vindictive repression of the Protestants; but that danger had been removed by the absorption of the Irish legislature in the parliament of Great Britain. For Ireland as well as for Great Britain the removal of Catholic disabilities was a mere measure of justice involving no risk of papal ascendency either in legislation or administration.

The measure fails to conciliate.

At the moment of the Union the concession of Catholic emancipation would have been an act of justice not without some magnanimity. It would have been felt as a measure of conciliation, a burying of age-long animosities, a free concession granted from motives of generosity and goodwill. But in 1829 as a healing measure it came too late. It was given not freely but grudgingly; according to the open avowal of the head of the government, granted only because it was the lesser of two evils—only because the alternative was civil war. No gift so wrung from any government has ever found gratitude. It was given, too, with an ill grace. O'Connell himself was treated with what had at least the appearance of petty spite when it was declared that he must be elected again before he could take his seat; and the government's fear of admitting the Irish peasantry to any share of political power was demonstrated by a simultaneous restriction of the franchise, disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholder and substituting a £10 qualification, whereby six out of seven electors at least lost their votes. And still also the grievance remained that Ireland maintained the endowments of a Church to which not one-fifth of the population belonged, while the Church of more than four-fifths was without endowment. Civil war was indeed averted, but Peel's belief that emancipation would provide an effective

settlement for Ireland soon proved to be the vainest of dreams. O'Connell came to Westminster not as the grateful recipient of generosity, but as the victor who had only wrung a tardy fragment of justice from the reluctant British government. The agitation for Catholic emancipation was very soon replaced by agitation for the repeal of the Union.

The Tory party was much shaken by the Emancipation Bill; those of them who voted for it with Wellington and Peel hated it in their hearts; those who voted against the government held the duke and Peel guilty of betraying the principles of the party. In the course of the year following the passing of the Act the ministry almost confined itself to economies in administration and reductions in taxation. In the summer of 1830 George IV. died unmourned. He had never attempted to assert the powers of the Crown unconstitutionally. What he might have tried to do if the Whigs had driven the Tories out of office is another question. His political activities were not employed injuriously; so much at least may be said for him. But his private life had lowered disastrously the popular respect for monarchy. Fortunately for the Crown, he was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother William, duke of Clarence; and the little princess Victoria, daughter of the fourth brother, still stood between the fifth, the duke of Cumberland, and the succession. William was not unpopular; his life was not stained by flagrant scandals; his sympathies were supposed to be more liberal than those of any of his brothers; it was in his favour that he was a sailor, who loved his profession; and although by no means brilliant he was a man of sense. In the seven years of his reign he restored a good deal of that prestige of the Crown which had been dissipated by George IV.

1830.

George IV. and William IV.

But the reign of the Tories was near its end. A month after the death of George IV. the parliament, which had been elected in 1826 and had known four successive prime ministers, was dissolved. Even in its last session it was becoming clear that the great question of parliamentary reform could not long be deferred. At the general

End of the Tory government.

election a number of ministerial seats were lost. When the Houses assembled in the autumn, the attack was immediately opened by the Opposition ; Wellington declared in the most uncompromising terms that he regarded the existing constitution as the best which could possibly be devised, and that he was absolutely opposed to any kind of electoral reform. In France a bloodless revolution in July had deposed the reactionary king Charles x. and placed on the throne his cousin of Orleans, the 'citizen king,' Louis Philippe. The ease and the freedom from disturbance with which the revolution had been carried out were extremely reassuring as a convincing proof that Jacobinism and the guillotine were not inevitable accompaniments even of a monarchical revolution. A government defeat on a motion referring to the civil list gave Wellington the opportunity of resigning upon a side issue ; and the formation of a new ministry was entrusted to Earl Grey, the recognised leader of the Whigs.

CHAPTER III. EMPIRE AND PEOPLE

I. India and the Colonies

In the direct course of the narrative dealing with European and domestic affairs, only incidental allusions have been made to the trans-oceanic empire from the time when Cornwallis returned to India to die, leaving the government for the time being in the incompetent hands of Sir George Barlow. We have noticed only in connection with the struggle with Napoleon that the Cape Colony passed permanently under British control in 1806, and that the island of Mauritius was taken from the French in 1810. The imperial development during the first portion of the nineteenth century now claims our attention.

In India the fortunately brief rule of Barlow was ended by the appointment of Lord Minto as governor-general in 1807. Apart from the ignominious termination of the Mahratta war, it had been signalised chiefly by a mutiny among the Madras sepoys at Vellur; symptomatic of the troubles which came to a head fifty years later in the Bengal army. The mutiny was due to regulations which had been imposed without due consideration of what the untaught European would term caste prejudices and the Hindu looks upon as vital principles of religion. The natives, with traditional experience of forcible conversion by Mohammedan rulers, conceived that the object of the regulations was to make them Christians against their will by destroying their caste. The mutiny was quelled by the prompt action of Colonel Gillespie, and the sepoys were pacified by the wise attitude adopted by Lord Minto, who recognised the reality of the grievance which had been the cause of the whole affair.

1806. India: the Vellur mutiny.

Minto went to India fully intending to carry out the policy of non-intervention; but during his term of office he was much more active than was pleasing to the directors at home or to the British government in London. At the moment of his arrival the Tsar and Napoleon had recently come to their agreement at Tilsit; if by this time England had little to fear from the French emperor, the same thing could not be said regarding the Russian Tsar. Between India and Russia there lay two buffers beyond the Indus, Afghanistan and Persia; within the mountain barrier the Punjab had recently been consolidated into a powerful state dominated by the Sikh confederacy, whose head was the Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore Persia was already in collision with Russia. Before Tilsit she appealed to Napoleon; after Tilsit the attitude of France and Russia towards each other changed, and the circumstances clearly demanded the immediate establishment of friendly relations between the Shah and the British. Unfortunately, the government of India and the government in London each dispatched an envoy on its own account. The government in London was annoyed by the action of the government of India; and it was chiefly due to the diplomatic tact of Minto's envoy, Malcolm, that the friction was removed, and an arrangement was reached—satisfactory in so far that the Shah undertook to resist the passage of European troops through his territories, in return for which he was promised military support if Persia should be invaded. But there was another result, not perhaps altogether satisfactory. It was understood thenceforth that the diplomatic relations with Persia were the affair not of the Indian but of the home government, which proved itself only too apt to forget that any importance attached to them.

1807-13. Lord Minto.

India, Russia, and Persia.

The Persian mission and another mission to Kabul had for their object the extension of political relations with states outside India itself with a view to defensive arrangements against European aggression; but Lord Minto also found himself compelled to intervene in the affairs of native states in India with that kind of diplomatic pressure which in-

Ranjit Singh and Sirhind.

volves an ominous moving of troops. Sikh sirdars or chiefs dominated not only the Punjab but Sirhind, which is, roughly speaking, the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna. Ranjit Singh was by this time the acknowledged lord of the Punjab Sikhs, and was anxious to extend his sway over the Sikhs of Sirhind who appealed to the British government for protection. Lord Minto was very anxious to placate the master of the Punjab whose territories guarded the Asiatic gateway of India. The astute Sikh was no less anxious for the friendship of the British government, for he had thoroughly made up his mind not only that the British were at the moment the strongest power in India, but that they were destined to absorb the whole peninsula under their dominion. He believed that they would crush him if he challenged a combat, but that if he preserved their friendship they would not interfere with his own ambition of developing the power of his own state outside their sphere. Therefore he pursued the systematic policy of getting everything he could out of them, making full use of every diplomatic advantage which circumstances might provide, but always with a fixed resolve that he would not fight them. Now, as it became clear that the relations between France and Russia were becoming strained, he saw that his own position was weakening, and made a great favour of withdrawing his claims on Sirhind in deference to the wishes of the British. So long as Ranjit lived—and it was not till 1839 that he died—his convinced belief in the British power was of constant service.

More pronounced was Minto's intervention in Central India. Holkar had encouraged the settlement in his dominions of a host of roving freebooters, Mohammedan Pathan tribesmen from the hills, whose most powerful leader was named Amir Khan, or miscellaneous hordes, mainly Mahratta, known as Pindaris. Holkar had entered into alliance with the bold adventurer; but since his contest with the British the Mahratta prince had become completely insane. Amir Khan, acting professedly on behalf of Holkar, employed the masses of his mercenary troops first to play havoc in Rajputana, and then to make incursions into the Bhonsla's territory. If Amir Khan and his

Amir Khan.

mercenary hordes were allowed to get the upper hand, it was evident to Lord Minto that India would be thrown into an intolerable turmoil. The troops of the British government were ordered to support the raja of Nagpur, and Amir Khan promptly retired beyond the Nerbudda. No further action was taken against him at the time, though the struggle was only deferred; but what Minto had done was more, not less, than was approved in London; and a good deal to his own surprise he was superseded by Lord Moira, who arrived in India in 1813.

1813-22. Lord Moira (Hastings).

Again the new governor-general was a man who took up his office with every intention of carrying out the non-intervention policy, only to discover that non-intervention was a plain impossibility. He had hardly appeared on the scene when he found himself faced by native aggressors from an entirely new quarter. Along the whole stretch of the northern mountains bordering upon Oudh and Behar lay the state of Nepal, occupied by the hardy tribes of mountaineers called Ghurkas. They were few in numbers but exceptionally valiant and skilful soldiers, physically of an entirely different type from Pathan or Mahratta, from the Rajput clansmen of Hindustan or from the Sikhs of the north-west. Before Lord Minto left India, these hillmen were pushing down into the plains and occupying territories within the area of Oudh and Behar. Moira (or the marquess of Hastings, to give him the title which was soon conferred upon him) arrived at a moment when it had become necessary to demand their withdrawal in peremptory terms. Instead of retiring, they sent fresh troops into the occupied districts, and the Ghurka war began in 1814.

1814-15. The Nepal war.

The governor-general was a soldier of experience and capacity. But war with the Ghurkas meant war conducted by officers and troops who knew nothing about hill-fighting, against hillmen who were first-rate soldiers and understood hill-fighting to perfection. Small as was the entire force which the Nepalese were able to put in the field in comparison with the forces sent against them, the opening campaigns were so disastrous that half India was filled with the expectation that the moment was coming when the British power

would be destroyed. Even Ranjit Singh at Lahore began to waver. But in 1815 the tide turned. By the skilful operations of General Ochterlony, the ablest of the Nepalese commanders and the best of his troops were isolated and forced to a most honourable capitulation. Although this stroke compelled Western Nepal to submission, Eastern Nepal still refused to yield, and another campaign was necessary before Ochterlony repeated his previous success and again compelled the stubborn Ghurkas to a capitulation. After that, the Nepalese government recognised that further resistance was hopeless, and accepted a treaty by which Western Nepal became British territory. The splendid qualities displayed by the Ghurkas won the highest admiration; they had only been beaten after a very valiant fight against overwhelming odds; and having been fairly and squarely beaten they were ready to make friends without any feeling of latent vindictiveness. From the moment when the treaty was made, the Nepalese government never wavered in its loyalty to the power with whom it had formed an alliance; and the Ghurkas who had passed under British sway proved no less loyal to their new rulers, in whose Indian armies there are to this day no troops more absolutely trustworthy than the Ghurka regiments.

The war, however, had given fresh opportunity to Amir Khan and his Pathans, and still more to the Pindaris under other leaders, to break out in a renewal of their predatory and devastating excursions. Their suppression had become a necessity, the more because there could be no doubt that all the western Mahrattas were conniving at their proceedings. Hastings laid the position of affairs before the government in London. Fortunately at this moment Canning joined the Liverpool administration as president of the Board of Control. After very short hesitation, he was convinced by the governor-general's account of the Pindari incursions, and gave Hastings a free hand to act with the utmost vigour. In another respect the moment was favourable; for the Bhonsla, who had always refused a subsidiary alliance, died, and the regency, acting for his imbecile son, accepted the subsidiary alliance, which enabled the British to use Nagpur territory as a base of operations.

1816. The Pindaris.

In 1817 the war for the suppression of the Pindaris was opened upon a scale for which there was no previous precedent, since it was only by the display of overwhelming force that the Mahratta princes could be kept from open co-operation with the Pindaris. Sindhia was paralysed for action by the British troops on his northern frontier; but in November, first the Peshwa and then the new Bhonsla, who had succeeded on the death of the boy for whom he had been acting as regent, rose and attempted to wipe out the British contingents, with the residents and other officials, at Puna and at Nagpur. At Kirki and Sitabaldi the small British forces completely defeated the Mahratta attack. In December and January 1818 Amir Khan and Holkar's government were forced to accept the British terms, and the Pindari war became practically a pursuit of the scattered parties of banditti. Still some months elapsed before the Peshwa was captured, and it was not till April 1819 that the last of the Bhonsla's fortresses was reduced, he himself having escaped as a fugitive to the Punjab.

1817-19. The Pindari war.

The general results were as follows. The Pindari hordes were completely scattered, and all prospect of their combining together again was destroyed. Holkar accepted the subsidiary treaty, and a portion of his territories was annexed to the British dominion. Amir Khan was allowed to enjoy a principality of his own at Tonk. Sindhia had to submit to a revision of the treaty made by Barlow, and to the extension of the British protectorate over the Rajput chiefs whom that treaty had left at his mercy. At Nagpur another member of the royal family, a minor, was established as Bhonsla; during whose minority the administration was taken over by the British. The hardest blow was dealt to the Puna government. From the beginning of his career Baji Rao had played the traitor whenever opportunity offered. His dominions were now annexed, although a separate independent principality was set up at Sattara under the prince who was the nominal head of the Mahratta confederacy, though absolutely powerless almost throughout the last century—the representative of the house of Sivaji, the original creator of the Mahratta power. Baji Rao,

The Mahratta confederacy broken up.

deprived of all political position, was handsomely endowed with private estates and a very large pension for the term of his own life; and thus amply provided for, he retired into private life in British territory, where he trained up an adopted son, the infamous Nana Sahib.

With the fall of the Puna peshwaship the period of annexations within the Indian peninsula came to an end. No fresh territory was brought under direct British dominion by war for more than twenty years. With somewhat doubtful wisdom the governor-general ignored the titular sovereignty of the Mogul, and bestowed upon the Oudh nawab the title of padishah, or king, as a reward for his steady loyalty. A like reward was offered to the Nizam, who rejected it, refusing to ignore his allegiance to the head of Mohammedan India.

The Mogul ignored.

The India House objected to the government of Hastings very much on the same grounds as those on which they had objected to the government of Lord Wellesley. His wars, however necessary, had cost money; his annexations, however inevitable, increased their responsibilities; and he persisted in making first-class appointments instead of deferring to the selections which they made themselves, or wished to make for reasons quite irrelevant to sound government. They did not venture to recall him, since he had acted with Canning's sanction; but there was friction; and when Hastings tendered his resignation in 1822 it was accepted. Canning himself had actually accepted the succession when the death of Castlereagh summoned him to the charge of foreign affairs and the leadership of the House of Commons.

1822. Hastings resigns.

Before Lord Hastings left India he received an astonishing demand from the king of Burma for the 'restoration' to that kingdom of a large portion of Bengal. The Burmese dominion was in fact cut off from India proper by the mountain chains of the north-east and by the sea. Burma never had owned any part of Bengal; but the 'Lord of the White Elephant,' dwelling apart, deluded himself with vain imaginings and dreams that he was the mightiest monarch in the world. The reply of Hastings assumed that the missive

Lord Amherst and Burma.

which he had received was not an official document but a forgery. But when Lord Amherst, the newly appointed governor-general, arrived, a body of Burmese took possession of an island belonging to Chittagong, which was part of the province of Bengal, but borders on the Burmese province of Arakan. Lord Amherst removed the Burmese and sent a warning protest to the Burmese government at Ava. The warnings were ignored, and the governor-general was informed that any communications he had to make must be addressed to the Burmese general, Bandula, as the Burmese court would give them no attention. Bandula was collecting troops, and Amherst found that war had been forced upon him.

It proved to be tedious, inglorious, and costly. The country was difficult, the climate atrocious, and for a considerable part of the year military operations were impracticable. Invasion by way of the land frontier appeared unmanageable; so in May 182 an expedition consisting of European troops and low-caste Madrasi sepoys was dispatched across the sea to Rangoon—since the high-caste sepoys of the Bengal army would lose their caste by crossing what they called the 'Black Water.' Rangoon was occupied, but the army had to depend for its supplies on Calcutta contractors, the worst existing specimens of that kind. The rainy season came on, and any advance up the Irrawadi was rendered impossible. In the early months of 1825 the British were able to push forward slowly till the rains came on again. There was another advance and a defeat of the Burmese; but it was not till 1826 that the Burmese court realised that the Burmese troops could not stand up to the invaders; and a peace was made by which, as a necessary consequence of Oriental warfare, Burma ceded the districts of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim, and agreed to pay a heavy indemnity and to receive a British Resident at Ava.

1824-6. First Burmese war.

The prolongation of this war over a period of two years once more excited in the minds of some Indian potentates the recurring conviction that the British ascendency was tottering to its fall; and the small Jat principality of Bhartpur threw down a deliberate challenge, relying upon the

1826. Bhartpur.

supposed impregnability of its citadel. It had successfully repulsed Lake's attacks at the time when Holkar was defying the British in 1804. Now, however, the illusion of its impregnability was dispelled. In January 1826 Bhartpur fell; and its fall was more convincing to the native mind than even the Pindari war had been. Seventeen years passed before any native power again ventured to throw down the gage of battle.

Amherst was followed in 1828 by Lord William Bentinck, who some time before had been governor of Madras, and so added knowledge of India to a practical experience of public affairs at home, and a sympathy with those more liberal ideas which had been making rapid progress in England, at least since 1822. At last the governor-general found himself free to give undivided attention to the administrative reforms of which the story belongs to another chapter.

1828. Bentinck succeeds Amherst.

Administrative reform on a large scale had not been practicable while the Indian government was perpetually engaged in wars great or small. In the period which we have been here considering the most notable work was the land settlement in the south, in those districts which passed under British dominion through the Mysore and Mahratta wars. Here the zemindari system[1] had never been established with the same thoroughness as in Bengal; and it was comparatively easy to see that the zemindar was not a proprietor, but only a middleman between the government and the ryot or peasant who had a better title than any one else to be regarded as the real proprietor. The system adopted has the name of ryotwari. The ryot paid to the government a fixed rent for a term of years, modified only as he allowed a portion of his holding to go out of cultivation or brought fresh ground into cultivation. The rent was fair, and was always considerably lower than that demanded under the native rulers, and the peasant enjoyed fixity of tenure and the power of alienation. The settlement differed from that in Bengal because the assessment was not permanent, but only for a term of years, and the

The ryotwari settlement.

[1] See vol. iii.

ryot instead of the zemindar was treated as the proprietor of the soil.

There was, however, another outcome of the annexations. The conditions prevalent in some of the newly acquired provinces made it inconvenient to treat them in accordance with the established regulations applied to all the provinces brought under British administration in the first years of expansion. In some of these areas it was felt advisable to entrust the administration to an officer—often a soldier—with large powers of adapting the methods of government to the peculiar local conditions; and this gave rise to the distinction between 'regulation' and 'non-regulation' provinces. One more point only needs to be noticed here before we turn from India. The charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1813 for twenty years; but with the important alteration that the company no longer enjoyed the monopoly of trade except as concerned China. The Indian trade was virtually opened to all comers.

Non-regulation provinces.

The history of the colonies during this period, unlike that of India, was not for the most part characterised by striking events, though certain marked tendencies are to be observed in them.

The colonies.

In the two Canadas hostility to the United States was intensified by the war of 1812; an episode which redounded to the credit more particularly of the United Empire Loyalists in Upper Canada who bore the brunt of the contest. In the years that followed, however, popular discontent developed for reasons which were not identical in the two colonies, though there was some kinship between them. In each there was an elective popular assembly and a nominated legislative council, the executive being in the hands of the latter, who practically commanded the ear of the governor. Consequently both in Upper and in Lower Canada there was antagonism between the assembly and the council owing to the presence in the former of a popular party demanding an increased control. Upper Canada was dominated by what was called the Family Compact, a family group sprung for the most

Upper Canada.

part from the United Empire Loyalists, who were shaping into a kind of aristocracy from which the growing stream of immigrants was almost entirely excluded. The council and government officers were practically all taken from among them. The rest resented what was virtually their exclusion from power; apart from this the principal bone of contention was the treatment of the 'clergy reserves.' These were lands which had been set apart for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy by the Act of 1791, and which the Anglican clergy had succeeded in appropriating to their own Church as the only Protestant Church recognised by the state. They were, however, forced to admit the claims of ministers of the Established Church of Scotland to a corresponding share. Outside the Family Compact there were numerous members of dissenting bodies who claimed either that the clergy reserves should be impartially applied for the benefit of all Protestant settlers, or that they should be secularised and applied to educational or other similar purposes.

In Lower Canada the contest between the chambers was on a different footing. In the assembly, as in the population generally, there was a large majority of French; but there also the administration was virtually in the hands of a bureaucracy, an aristocracy of officials who were nearly all British. The antagonism therefore tended to run upon racial lines; but the assembly, in its efforts to attain practical power, followed the British precedent and fought to obtain financial control. At the same time there was an inevitable tendency on the part of those who were outside the bureaucratic connection to side with the assembly in demanding that increased political weight should attach to the elected chamber. The flow of immigrants, to a great extent members of the industrial classes driven from England and still more from Scotland by the economic depression, strengthened the democratic element. **Lower Canada.**

In the Cape Colony, taken from the Dutch and retained by the British after the close of the war, there arose a gradual accumulation of British settlers occupying the colony by the side of the old Dutch and French Huguenot **The Cape.**

inhabitants. The new-comers were planted chiefly in the eastern regions between Capetown and the districts beyond the Fish River occupied by the Kaffir tribes, which increased the danger of collisions between negroes and whites. Within the colony itself the non-European population was for the most part not Kaffir (negro) but Hottentot. As in the West Indian colonies, slavery was an established institution in South Africa. The government was in the hands of a governor and a nominated council. The laws and institutions of the Dutch, who had been in occupation for two hundred years, were at first preserved; but with the increase of the British population there came a disposition on the part of the government to modify them in accordance with British ideas, much to the displeasure of the Dutch, especially when British ideas were applied to the treatment of the natives. The development of humanitarian views which brought about the abolition of the slave-trade were repellent to the Dutch, both in theory and in practice; in theory, because they retained the peculiar Old Testament religion of the ancestors who had been persecuted by Alva, regarding themselves very much as the chosen people and the natives as Canaanites; in practice, because experience had implanted in them the firm conviction that the natives could be controlled only by the strong hand applied without hesitation and without mercy; whereas the humanitarians were shocked by any application of the strong hand at all. It was by no means easy for any government to grasp and act upon the true principle that the strong hand should be applied with mercy, but without hesitation. But as in Canada so at the Cape, dissatisfaction and discontent had not yet come to a head.

Lastly, we turn to the new territory which Great Britain had annexed in 1788. Colonisation in Australia was for many years very slow. The first occupation was for the purpose of a convict settlement, and the first expansion was from the convict settlements, by means of the establishment upon the soil of convicts who had passed their term and preferred remaining where they were to returning to England, and a similar establishment of the soldiers on the spot when they had served

Australasia.

their time and earned their discharge. These settlers remained under the control of a military governor; but emigrants from England were not attracted by the prospect of a society consisting of ex-convicts. Nevertheless, the growth was sufficiently rapid for Tasmania to be constituted a separate government from New South Wales in 1812. The development was largely due to the energy of Governor Macquarie, who went to New South Wales in 1809. He succeeded in obtaining some financial assistance from the home government; and that movement of emigration which sent settlers to New Brunswick and Canada began to find an outlet also in Australia, so that by 1826 New South Wales had some thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom a considerable majority were free settlers. Another convict settlement at Brisbane in the north of New South Wales was the beginning of what ultimately developed into the separate colony of Queensland. Explorers opened out new fields mainly for cattle and sheep farming; and by 1829 the progress had been such, and the attractions of Australia had become so far known in Great Britain, that the new colony of Western Australia was created with no convict settlement as its nucleus.

II. Industry and Commerce

Progress of the industrial revolution.

The great revolution in the methods of production was in full operation some years before the close of the eighteenth century. Machinery driven by water or by steam had already in the important manufactures destroyed domestic industries; the manufacturer employing a large number of hands in his factories to work the machinery, which was his own property, displaced the groups of weavers, spinners, and other hand-workers, whose looms and spinning-wheels had been their own property. The manufacturer was the owner of the machinery and materials of production, and the folk who had hitherto done the spinning and weaving brought into the market not goods but labour. The former 'customer'

became the employer, and the modern relations between labour and capital were established. In the early part of the nineteenth century the process of superseding water power by steam power continued rapidly, with the effect of concentrating the factories more and more in or near the iron and coal fields; while continual improvements in machinery increased the output in proportion to the number of workers employed—more, that is, could be produced by a smaller number of workers.

No detailed account need be given of the advances in the method of production. Increased production is of little use without easy means of rapid distribution enabling the producer to reach the consumer. Traffic improvement accompanied the manufacturing advance; carriage in bulk by water superseded the old laborious haulage by wagons, and the country was covered with a network of canals. In the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the main roads at least were improved past recognition. But the time was at hand when canals in their turn were to become obsolete, and steam haulage was to displace water carriage, as steam power displaced water power.

Roads and canals.

Steam locomotion was effectively inaugurated by the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway in 1830. Steam locomotion solved the problem of carrying practically unlimited quantities of the heaviest goods at a high speed with a minimum of danger, making it impossible for production to outrun the means of distribution except as a consequence of an artificial suspension of traffic.

Beginnings of steam locomotion.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was the period of incubation, not of fulfilment. The steam-engine was applied to locomotion on the water before locomotion on land; in 1812 a steamship was plying on the Clyde, and in 1819 an American steamship actually crossed the Atlantic, though even then the whole journey was not accomplished under steam. The development of the steamship after the first beginnings was much less rapid than the development of the railway; and it was not till 1838 that a British steamship steamed the whole way to America.

Early steamship.

Steam haulage by land followed upon the invention of the railway. The first railroad, laid down in 1801, was intended to facilitate the haulage of heavily laden trucks by horses between Wandsworth and Reigate. But when the idea of running traffic upon iron rails had once been introduced, the idea of haulage by steam power became practicable. George Stephenson built his first steam locomotive in 1814. In 1818 it was proposed to lay a line of rails between Stockton and Darlington, for horse traffic, like the Wandsworth and Reigate line. The proposal was blocked by the duke of Cleveland, through whose estate it was necessary that a portion of the line should pass. In 1821, however, parliamentary sanction was obtained for making the line ; and in 1823 George Stephenson obtained authorisation to employ a steam-engine as the locomotive power. Public attention was only really attracted to the subject by the next proposals for steam railways between Manchester and Liverpool, and to Woolwich. The Woolwich scheme was subjected to scathing criticism by the *Quarterly Review*, which entirely declined to believe that the people of Woolwich would permit themselves to be carried along at a speed so terrific as twenty miles an hour, or indeed that such a speed would ever be attained. In 1825, however, the Manchester and Liverpool railway was sanctioned ; Stephenson himself did not then anticipate a higher speed than fourteen miles an hour. It was only in 1829 that the directors of the new railway finally decided to employ Stephenson's locomotive. In 1830 the line was actually opened. The function was attended with great public interest, and was unhappily signalised by the fatal accident which killed Huskisson. But from the opening of the railway the rapid triumph of steam locomotion was assured.

The first railroads.

Steam traction.

1830. Manchester and Liverpool railway.

As yet, however, the coming new factor in transit had not affected industrial conditions which had been revolutionised by the application of steam to manufacture, and in agriculture by the enclosures which in conjunction with the destruction of weaving and spinning as domestic industries had turned the yeoman and cottar into mere agricultural labourers, depending for

livelihood upon the wages paid to them by large farmers supplemented by allowances from the rates.

The rural labourer.

By the unspeakably pernicious system established at the close of the eighteenth century, the farmer was carefully encouraged to pay the lowest possible wages, while a sort of living wage was made up to the labourer out of the rates. The labourer was not encouraged in an endeavour to earn higher wages by industry, because if his wages should be raised he would lose his dole from the parish; he was not encouraged even to seek a living wage as the reward of his work; but he was encouraged to beget a multitude of children, since the dole he received was proportioned to the number of his offspring. Under the strain of the war the dole was not increased in proportion to the increase in the cost of living; the actual wages did not rise because the only immediate effect of their rising would have been to diminish the actual amount of the dole; and the labourer lived always on the verge of destitution.

Effect of the peace.

With the peace matters became worse. While the war went on, although the rural population increased rapidly, and although the large farmer was able to economise in the amount of labour employed, the extra supply of labour was, as a matter of fact, brought into requisition because at war prices it paid to bring under cultivation land from which under peace conditions there was no adequate return. But with the peace much of this land went out of cultivation again; violent fluctuations in the price of corn threatened farmers with ruin, while the price of bread did not fall; numbers of rural labourers were thrown out of employment altogether; wages tended to fall, not to rise, because the supply of labour was greatly in excess of the demand; and the position of the agricultural labourer became worse than ever.

Class hostility.

In the country as in the factory, the new relation of peasant and landholder, like the new relation of masters and operatives, evoked a class hostility between capital and labour for which there had been no precedent since the days of Wat Tyler's revolt. The English peasant felt that he had been robbed of his land in order that landlords and compara-

tively rich farmers might grow richer; that the landlords and the well-to-do farmers were his enemies; and the administration of the law encouraged the feeling. The starving rustic naturally took to poaching to supply his needs; the rural population had never been seriously troubled with conscientious scruples in that respect, and the poacher was not condemned by men of his own class. But from the latter part of the eighteenth century landlords became much more zealous in preserving, and the penalties imposed for poaching were conspicuous for their severity in an otherwise barbarously severe penal code. During the war compulsory service in the army or navy became one of the penalties for poaching, and the poacher who resisted arrest was liable to transportation. An Act of 1816 made transportation the penalty in effect for any one found in suspicious circumstances carrying firearms or even a bludgeon. Theoretically, at least, the law punished rich and poor with an even hand; but the offences for which it dealt out its penalties with a savage harshness were those to which the poor were tempted and the rich were not; and from which the little that was suffered was suffered by the rich and not at all by the poor. And at the same time, the extravagant penalisation of the minor offence made the poacher recklessly ready to risk his life on the chance of escaping capture and transportation.

Poaching.

The rural revolution sank the peasant to depths unknown for centuries. The labourers at other trades than agriculture also at the outset suffered instead of gaining by the Industrial Revolution. A huge increase of production through labour-saving machinery did not provide an increase of employment equivalent to the increase of the population. Employers accepted with enthusiasm the doctrine of *laissez faire*, of free competition between individuals, of the right of the employer to conduct his own business according to his own judgment without any external regulation. With the labour market overstocked, they could pay what wages they chose. If the particular workman refused the wages offered, it was easy to find another in the ranks of the unemployed who would take any wages which kept him from starvation.

Laissez faire.

In the absence of regulation, combination among the workmen, agreement to demand higher wages, collective bargaining, was the only way in which masters and men could bargain on anything like equal terms. But before 1799 the judges were already ruling that combinations among the workmen to demand higher wages were conspiracies under common law; and in 1799 and 1800 the combination laws, passed primarily because of the fear that associations of workmen would really resolve themselves into revolutionary societies, prohibited such combinations under severe penalties. No steps were taken against them, except at the instance of masters, who in the more skilled trades were not averse from them; but in the unskilled trades comprising the mass of the workmen effective combination was impossible. Masters with liberal inclinations were dragged in the wake of the rest; not indeed on the same level with them, but on a level not very much higher, because the keenness of competition forbade a disproportionate expenditure on wages. Moreover, the labour competition was made worse, and wages were still further lowered, by the extensive employment of women and children. The men were too short-sighted to see that every penny earned by the child meant twopence less wages to the father, and that it was precisely for that reason that the masters employed children wherever they could. The employment of children reduced the wages bill, as did that of women in a somewhat less degree, so that a smaller amount went into the pockets of the working-classes. And yet the working-man chose to send his children to the factory, because the pennies they earned were an actual immediate addition to the money in the father's pocket.

Combination prohibited.

Employment of women and children.

Dear bread, insufficient employment, and inadequate wages were at the root of the grave depression among the working classes, who did not realise that they were themselves in part responsible for the two latter grievances through their encouragement of the employment of women and children. The causes in their eyes were the use of the labour-saving machinery which took the bread out of their mouths,

Masters and men.

and the political system which placed legislation and the administration of justice in the hands of a class who were thereby enabled to appropriate to themselves the profits of the labourer's toil. The capitalists, with very rare exceptions, had not begun to realise the existence of any relation between efficiency, on the one side, and on the other an adequate living-wage standard, hours of labour, or sanitary conditions. Many of them did, in fact, spend a good deal more than the minimum possible for the benefit of their hands; but they did so from motives of humanity, and usually with the belief that they were diminishing their own profits. When the capitalist did not realise that his own interests were advanced by the prosperity of the men working under him, but believed that the interests of the men were economically opposed to those of the employer, it was scarcely surprising that the men on their side should have acquired an almost ineradicable conviction that employers and employed are naturally enemies with antagonistic interests. So whenever the depression became particularly acute there were outbreaks of machine-smashing; and the working-men became more and more convinced that the remedy for their grievances lay in changing the centre of political power, and that all would be well when the working-man was political master.

Operation of the combination laws.

But among the more skilled trades there were men who were looking to the power of combination as the real panacea; who saw in the combination laws the most serious obstacle to the amelioration of the lot of the working-man. Those laws operated in what can only be called an extremely iniquitous manner. They forbade combination not only for purposes of aggression but also for purposes of defence. A typical instance occurred in the case of the Scottish weavers in 1812. Weaving was one of the trades which still came under the old laws which authorised the regulation of wages by the magistrates. The magistrates, in view of the depressed state of trade, laid down the minimum wage which was to be paid. The employers ignored the regulation. Individual action on the part of the weavers would have been perfectly useless, and they struck in a body to demand nothing more than the

actual rate of wages to which they were by law entitled. But because the strike was organised, they were treated as guilty of forming an illegal combination ; and actually at the instance of the government the leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In skilled trades, on the other hand, the supply of labour was not in excess of the demand ; the men belonged to a higher class —that is, they were better off and were better educated. They were not open to any suspicion of Jacobinism. The masters did not find their own interests threatened by combinations amongst them ; the relations were mutually friendly, and they were found helpful in the adjustment of differences. It appeared then that an extension of the principle of combination ought to have an entirely salutary effect, and to remove instead of fostering antagonisms. The repeal of the combination laws was really the work of Francis Place, a master-tailor, who found a parliamentary ally in Joseph Hume. By exceedingly skilful management he succeeded in 1824 in procuring the introduction and passage of a bill in effect repealing the obnoxious Acts. The thing was done so quietly that it went through almost unnoticed ; and when in the next year, 1825, the adherents of the Combination Acts introduced another bill which was intended to reinstate them, the ingenious management of Place and Hume amended it into an Act which only made rather more complete the enactment of 1824. Associations ceased to be illegal ; men could thenceforth bargain collectively and strike collectively without incurring the penalties of illegal combinations. They were even so far protected that associations formed for the regulation of wages and hours of labour were expressly exempted from the common law against conspiracy, though the ingenuity of lawyers often found means of evading the exemption.

1825. Repeal of the Combination Acts.

The repeal was passed at the end of the five years in which trade had recovered from the depression which followed upon the peace. The unrest among the working classes had quieted down more for that reason than as a consequence of the government's repressive measures. Trade

Combination discredited.

was flourishing, and at the moment there seemed to be every prospect that a demand for increased wages would meet with a ready and easy response. Trade unions were promptly formed all over the country. But the hope was delusive. The revival of trade had been accompanied by a fit of wild speculation. The next four years were again years of depression. The unions entirely failed to procure a rise in wages when half the masters were living in perpetual dread of financial disaster. Employment fell off and wages dropped. The panacea failed to act, the movement was discredited, and the workers returned to their faith in the political cure for the economic disease.

III. Literature, 1798-1830

In 1796 died Robert Burns, almost the only man who, belonging entirely to the eighteenth century, claims beyond all possibility of dispute to rank as a great poet, a master-singer; since poetry may be defined in terms which forbid us to include among its high priests the consummate masters of literary form who in the eighteenth century used verse as the medium of literary expression. Burns discarded the eighteenth-century convention, not because he was a conscious exponent of a new critical theory, but because in Scotland lyrical expression, not consciously cultivated as an art, but spontaneous, had never died out. Yet because he stands alone among the eighteenth-century men, and stands also on the threshold of the new era, in which the eighteenth-century convention had no part nor lot, and because his spirit was the spirit of the new era, he is in a sense to be accounted its herald. **The precursor.**

In the year of his death appeared without attracting attention the first published verses of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The arrival of the new era was definitely announced two years later with the publication of William Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*, with contributions from Coleridge which included the immortal *Ancient Mariner*. The fact that the old **The new poets.**

convention was being deliberately challenged was emphasised two years later by Wordsworth's preface to his second volume of *Lyrical Ballads*. The thirty years following 1798 witnessed in the British Isles an output of poetry more amazing than had ever been seen in an equally short period in any country in the world save the England of Shakespeare's day, and the Athens of Pericles. Six names stand out most prominently: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott. Any one of the six would have sufficed to make the era in which he lived a notable one. All the poetical work of five out of the six was done during that one period of thirty years; and if Wordsworth sustained his reputation he did not effectively add to it by what he wrote at a later date.

The new poetry.

The new poetry was not the work of a school of men who took a common view of the function of poetry or of the laws of poetic form or diction. The thing common to them all was the revolt of individualism against artificial restrictive canons. Accidents caused one group of them to be designated the Lake School, because it happened that Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey were intimate friends who for a time resided in close neighbourhood to each other in the Lake country, and because two of them published a joint volume. By a curious irony, the one of their number who was emphatically a distinguished man of letters, but has long ceased to be counted a great poet, was the first to obtain public recognition as a poet, and was appointed to the laureateship—Robert Southey. Southey's theory of the poetic art is of no great consequence. Wordsworth's, set forth in the preface to the second volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, was demolished critically not by the reviewers, who gibed at the 'Lake school,' but by Coleridge himself, who demonstrated that whenever his friend rose to poetic heights he discarded his own doctrine of poetic diction, whereas the very considerable mass of poor pedestrian stuff with which he did not succeed in burying his great work was the unhappy outcome of his theory.

As the literary movement at the close of the sixteenth century in England was one aspect of the revolution, which in the course

of that century broke free from the intellectual and moral conventions of the Middle Ages, effected the Protestant Reformation and the Reformation within the Roman Church, and liberated scientific inquiry, so this literary movement was one aspect of the intellectual and political revolution which shattered the eighteenth-century conventions, created the French republic and the French empire, and set in motion the forces of democracy and nationalism. Both the revolutions were essentially individualist: the first primarily an assertion of the right of the individual to follow his own conscience in matters of religion—to liberty of conscience; the second primarily of his right to a voice in the government, to political liberty. The basis of both was the refusal to be tied by conventions which had served their turn in the history of progress; conventions which, from having been conditions of the suppression of anarchy, had been gradually transformed into instruments for the maintenance of privilege. For progress, control and development are both necessary; the eternal problem is that of confining control to its true function of protecting development; since the regulations which have served as a bulwark against anarchy in one generation, when they become stereotyped change their character, and turn into the conventions which check the free development of a later generation. Unless they are removed by degrees, the time arrives when they are challenged *en masse* by a general revolt.

Character of the movement.

The literary movement then was a revolt against the literary convention of the eighteenth century, the canons which artificially restricted the subject-matter and the methods of literary, and chiefly of poetic, expression. The new spirit refused to be bound by those canons. It was determined to express its most intense emotions, to recognise beauty wherever it saw it. The canons virtually forbade the expression of the deeper emotions, and ruled that no beauty was to be found except within an arbitrarily restricted field, limiting the poet's vocabulary with an artificial pedantry. Wordsworth carried his revolutionary doctrine to the point of declaring that the proper language of poetry was nothing more or less than the language of everyday life, and almost implying that a subject was appro-

Rejection of conventions.

priate to poetry in proportion to its commonplaceness. Yet he was in fact only giving exaggerated expression to the actual truth that it is no matter whether a word or a phrase be familiar or exceptional, provided that it is expressive and harmonious, and that any subject is suitable for poetry in which the poet not only sees beauty himself but can make his audience see it.

Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats.

The mental quality, as distinct from the power of expression, which distinguishes the great poet from the most skilful versifier, is the power of vision or imagination; lacking which no man can be in the higher sense a poet. The other essential factor is the power of musical expression. The eighteenth-century convention insisted not upon imaginative vision but upon accuracy of thought, not upon music but upon correctness of form. Both vision and music require a keen sensibility to beauty; imagination requires intensity of feeling. Accuracy of thought and correctness of expression may be attained without either the one or the other, and if pursued too exclusively may be destructive of both. The common characteristic of the four greatest among the six poets of the literary revolution whom we have named, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley, is their possession of these qualities in a very high degree. In Shelley and Keats they are persistent, very rarely failing; in Coleridge, on the other hand, they are very rarely sustained, though whenever present they are at the very highest level. The result is that from him, except in the case of the *Ancient Mariner*, we get nothing but very short pieces or fragments. His inspiration was intermittent, and he wrote his poetry only in the moments of inspiration. Wordsworth suffered from the peculiarity of being quite unconscious when inspiration deserted him, or, perhaps it should be said, of believing that the inspiration was always present; with the result that he produced quantities of verse in which there is neither imagination nor music. But whenever his thought was adequate it glowed with imagination, and found musical expression, not as with Coleridge in haunting melodies, but in gracious or stately harmonies. Each of the four poets worked in a field of his own, typified for Wordsworth in the

Lines written above Tintern Abbey, for Coleridge in *Christabel*, for Shelley in *Alastor*, for Keats in *Endymion*. None of those poems could have been conceived by any other of the four poets, and none of them could have been produced while the eighteenth-century convention was dominant.

Wordsworth, Scott, and Coleridge were all of one generation; they were nineteen, eighteen, and seventeen respectively when the Bastille fell. In that year Byron was in his cradle; Shelley and Keats were born during the next six years. All the three elder men survived the three younger. Neither Scott nor Byron was primarily a poet in the same sense as the other four; though both in their own day had as poets a greater celebrity and a greater popularity, both played their part in shattering the eighteenth-century tradition. Their sensibility to beauty was less delicate, their emotion less deep; perhaps as a consequence their appeal was wider. Scott was unequivocally a balladist, a story-teller, whose delight was in action and movement, whose vision, eminently sane and healthy, still did not penetrate far beneath the surface. Byron, least of the whole group, departed from the eighteenth-century literary tradition; he wrote for the most part not poetry, but highly rhetorical verse; yet in the vehemence of his individualism and his rebellion against restraints he was emphatically a child of the Revolution, and indeed much more obviously so than any of the rest except Shelley.

Scott and Byron.

Scott made his mark as a poet, though later critics have been apt to deny that title to a writer of stories in rhyme, forgetful of not a few very admirable lyrics of which he was also the author. His great work, however, was not in the field of poetry, but in his recasting of the novel and his creation of the historical romance. It would hardly be too much to say that nine-tenths of the average Englishman's ideas of history and of the great characters who have trodden the historical stage are to be traced either to the dramas of Shakespeare or the novels of Sir Walter Scott, or to later novelists who consciously drew their inspiration from Scott. It was he who turned prose fiction to account, to make the past alive. It is

The Waverleys.

a small matter that since his day much light had been thrown upon history which was denied to the author of the *Waverley Novels*, a small matter that he dwells too rejoicingly upon its pomp and pageantry; the dry bones live where he has touched them. Others have carried on the work, sometimes with brilliant success, improving, it may be, upon his methods, according to the critical taste of their day, and with a more exact knowledge; but it was Scott who showed the way, who definitely created a new type of prose fiction.

Maria Edgeworth.

And yet it was not even in the historical romance that Scott achieved his highest artistry. His finest work was in the portrayal of essentially Scottish types, in whatever century he gave them their setting. In this field it is perhaps his distinctive merit that unlike any of his predecessors he succeeded in painting the humble life of his countrymen with a refinement of touch which leaves the picture free from any element of coarseness without detracting from its essential sincerity and truth. Let it be said, however, that Maria Edgeworth, his nearest predecessor, stands as an exception in respect of *Castle Rackrent* and others of her Irish novels. To her Scott, the most generous of critics, avowed a debt considerably greater no doubt than he really owed. But the fact remains that her sketches of Irish life and character, when she was writing without any ulterior educational design, did lead the way in depicting humble life with entire truthfulness, and at the same time with a delightful humour and an artistic refinement before unknown.

Jane Austen.

Maria Edgeworth's light has been dimmed by a perverse fate which induced her to write moral tales for the edification of youth. Fortune has been kinder to Jane Austen, another object of Scott's appreciative enthusiasm, the most consummate of realists within the limited field which was known to her and to which she confined her work. Jane Austen proved once for all what had not been definitely proved before, that a woman may be a great creative artist, as original and as individual as any man. For a century after Jane Austen and Scott, the novel has been the dominant literary organ for discharging the functions formerly specifically associated with the drama.

The literary revolution revived the poetry of the imagination and the emotions with an immense vitality; it shaped the novel, the new literary form which had been rough-hewn by Fielding and Smollett. It created also the modern review and the modern journal. The eighteenth century had developed the short essay with its *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Ramblers*; it had developed political pamphleteering from Jonathan Swift to Edmund Burke. Out of a sort of cross between these two forms the early nineteenth century created the review, the collection in a periodical publication of disquisitions critical, political, historical, on all subjects of interest. Scotland led the way with the publication of the *Edinburgh*, under the editorship of Jeffrey; when the *Edinburgh* in 1809 proved too definitely Whig for some of its Tory contributors, John Murray started in London a rival magazine, the *Quarterly*, and in 1817 Edinburgh Toryism found its mouthpiece in *Blackwood's Magazine*. The inward meaning of these new ventures was that literature at last resolved to throw itself boldly upon the public. Throughout the eighteenth century the men of letters had depended largely upon the patronage of the great. The scholar was rewarded with a deanery or a bishopric, the successful pamphleteer with a comfortable sinecure. Now the time had come when a relation was established between the rewards of literature and its market value; authors contributed to the magazines because the magazines paid them adequately for their contributions; and the magazines paid them because the public bought the magazines.

The Reviews.

CHAPTER IV. REFORM AND FREE TRADE 1830-1852

I. Reform, 1830-1832

Earl Grey, the head of the new ministry which took office on the resignation of the duke of Wellington, had been in public life for more than forty years. As Charles Grey, the son of a distinguished soldier, he entered the House of Commons in 1786, attached himself to Fox, and after the outbreak of the French war took a leading part in the vain advocacy of electoral reform. In his long career he had only held office for one year in Grenville's 'ministry of all the talents' when, as Viscount Howick, he succeeded Fox at the Foreign Office. A Whig who had not been driven to abandon his Whig theories by the French Revolution, a lover of justice, and of freedom as understood by the Whigs, he had been resolutely opposed to the repressive policy of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, but was very far indeed from being a democrat. In his cabinet there were only four members of the House of Commons, of whom one, Viscount Althorp, would in due course become Earl Spencer, and another, Edward Stanley, was prospective heir to the earldom of Derby; while a third, Viscount Palmerston, was an Irish peer eligible for an English constituency under the Act of Union. Canningites were combined with Whigs in the ministry; the three secretaries of state, Melbourne, Goderich, and Palmerston at the Foreign Office, were all members of the Canningite group, who were merged into a party which was about to take to itself the name of Liberal instead of Whig. The death of Huskisson in September had deprived them of a financier who would have been a tower of strength.

The Reform Cabinet.

Electoral reform had become a crying necessity. Nearly sixty years before, Chatham had uttered his warning that if parliament did not reform the representation from within, it would be reformed with a vengeance from outside. In the course of the centuries the whole system had changed as far as the boroughs were concerned. In the counties the limitation of the franchise was still what it had been in the days of Henry VI. But in Plantagenet times the boroughs which sent members to parliament were the substantial towns. The same boroughs still returned members; but many of them had long ceased to be substantial towns at all. Many new boroughs had been created by Tudors and Stuarts, but these new boroughs had not been towns which had risen in population and importance; they had been created boroughs chiefly because in them the elections could be directly or indirectly controlled by the Crown. Changes in the conditions of manufacture had caused some of the old boroughs to decay or even to become almost depopulated; they returned their members as of yore. Other towns, formerly too small to have any title to representation, had grown so greatly that they were now among the foremost in the country in population and importance; the Industrial Revolution had created new great centres; but these towns were all unrepresented. In the boroughs which were represented there was no uniform franchise. In some, the electors were virtually the corporation; in others, they were all the ratepayers; in others, the 'potwallopers'—every one who had a hearth of his own. There were boroughs where the electors could be counted on the fingers, where they could be counted by dozens or scores. Half a dozen peers could nominate forty members between them. Two-thirds of the members were returned by constituencies which were in effect controlled by about one hundred and fifty individuals. And in Scotland and Ireland the state of affairs was even more anomalous and grotesque than in England

State of representation.

In effect, while one-third of the House of Commons was returned by a more or less free electorate on a limited but by no means uniform franchise, the other two-thirds represented a few old families. That did not mean

An oligarchy.

that they were all of one party, because the old families were not all of one party; but it did mean that they represented great landed proprietors and their interests. From the point of view of stable government alone, the system was not without its merits. The oligarchy had shown that in the face of a foreign foe it could be patriotic, public spirited, resolute, and tolerably intelligent. But it was an oligarchy which could not be expected to show, and did not show, any understanding of the new conditions which had arisen owing to the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

1830. Government and the labourers.

The preparation of a scheme was entrusted to a committee of four which included Lord John Russell, who since 1820 had been the persistent champion of the cause in the House of Commons, although he was not included in Grey's cabinet. While the committee was deliberating, the new government, at least, had time to show that there was nothing Jacobinical about it. During recent months the distress in the agricultural districts had again given rise to rioting, rick-burning, and the destruction of threshing-machines, which were regarded with especial ill-will by the rural labourer. There were the usual fears of a violent insurrection. The powers of the law were exercised drastically while Wellington's government was still in office, and the popular expectations were disappointed when the new government with Lord Melbourne at the Home Office continued to act with the same severity. Broadly speaking, the harshest penalties permitted by the law were inflicted, which included hanging or transportation for very minor acts of violence such as to-day would involve at the most a very brief term of imprisonment.

1831. First Reform Bill, March.

The government bill for amending the representation of the people of England and Wales was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. The measure was a sweeping one; but by its framers it was not by any means intended to be democratic. The demands which had been put forward by advanced Radicals for manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, and annual parliaments, found

no place in it. The committee had proposed to introduce the ballot and to shorten the life of parliament to five years instead of seven. Both the proposals had been eliminated before the bill was presented to the House. The principles of the bill were not complex. The objects were to give to the boroughs the same uniformity of franchise which already existed in the counties; which did not mean extending it to new classes, but to the same classes in all constituencies. In the second place, every constituency was to have a free electorate; none was to consist of a few electors bound to vote according to the proprietor's orders. There was to be no equalising of the constituencies, but boroughs with less than 2000 inhabitants were to be disfranchised altogether, and boroughs with less than 4000 were to return one member instead of two. By this process of disfranchisement 168 seats would be abolished. Of these 106 were to be redistributed; 27 new boroughs were to have 34 seats among them, 57 were to be added to the counties, 9 to Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and 8 to London. As to the qualification, the franchise in the counties, hitherto restricted to freeholders whose numbers had been enormously reduced by the agricultural revolution, was extended to £10 copyholders and to £50 leaseholders who might all be regarded as persons of substance. In the boroughs, the freemen of the borough retained their vote, and otherwise the franchise was restricted or extended to the ratepaying £10 householder. In Scotland the qualification was to be the same as in England; in Ireland the qualification for the counties was to be unchanged, but was extended in the boroughs to the £10 householder.

Defeat, and a general election, April.

On its second reading in the House of Commons in a full house, the bill was carried by a majority of one; and immediately afterwards, when there were 13 fewer members present, the Opposition carried General Gascoyne's instruction that the total number of English and Welsh representatives should not be diminished, by a majority of 8. King William, who was on the whole in favour of the bill, at once acted upon Grey's advice and dissolved parliament upon 22nd April.

The excitement in the country ran high. Everywhere the cry was for 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.'

Victory at the polls.

The electors voted with unwonted zeal and unwonted disregard for the views of the magnates, and the new House of Commons had a solid majority of 100 in favour of the bill.

Although King William was in favour of reform, he was extremely anxious to avoid the serious collision between the two houses of parliament which was threatening, and he tried hard to induce Grey to make modifications in the bill which would conciliate the Lords. Grey, however, was convinced in the first place that the country would not be satisfied with anything short of his measure, and that the Opposition would not be conciliated by any possible concessions. The new bill, presented again by Lord John Russell, scarcely differed from the old one. The

Second Reform Bill, July.

second reading was carried on 7th July by a majority of 136. The Opposition fought stubbornly, and the third reading was not carried till 21st September, the majority being 109. In the interval the Opposition had succeeded in introducing a clause proposed by Lord Chandos extending the county franchise to £50 tenants-at-will as well as leaseholders; the hypothesis being that such tenants would inevitably vote on the same side as their landlords.

Then the king's fears were justified. After an exceptionally fine debate, probably unsurpassed in the annals of the Upper

Rejected by the Lords, October.

Chamber, and extended over five nights, the Lords rejected the second Reform Bill by a majority of 41 on 8th October. Twelve days later parliament was prorogued.

The effect of the rejection of the bill was electrical. Riots broke out all over the country. It was true that the bill was not

Consequent excitement.

on the face of it calculated to establish anything like a democracy. It was true that the Whigs enjoyed the cheerful conviction that it would provide a final settlement; that when it had been passed, the newly enfranchised electorate would by no means be willing to let political power pass out of their own hands by any further extension of the suffrage; that

the effect of the bill would, in fact, be to close the door to democracy. But in the eyes of Tories it was only the 'thin end of the wedge'; in the eyes of Radicals and in the eyes of the unenfranchised populace it was only an instalment of reform, but it was a necessary instalment, and it was intolerable to them that it should be rejected by the hereditary chamber. The fiercest of the outbreaks was at Bristol, where the town was practically in the hands of rioters for three days.

1832. Third Reform Bill, December-March.

The new session of parliament opened in December, some six weeks after the prorogation. On 12th December the third Reform Bill was introduced. This time there were some modifications. The disfranchising clauses were less drastic. The former bills had diminished the total number of seats by 62; the new bill struck out 143 seats instead of 168, and 37 additional seats were allotted, keeping the total number of seats unchanged. By the end of March the bill had passed all its stages in the House of Commons.

The Bill in the Lords, April.

It was still, however, quite uncertain what its fate would be in the House of Lords. There was only one possible method of coercing the peers, and that was by the creation of a number sufficient to convert the government minority into a majority. From such a course the king was intensely averse, and Grey himself was extremely anxious to avoid it. He promised at least not to make any such demand of the king before the second reading. A section of the peers was doubtful what to do, detesting the bill, but dreading the alternative. Attempts to arrive at some compromise came to nothing, and when the bill came up for its second reading the waverers carried the day, and it was passed by a majority of nine.

A wrecking amendment, May.

Three weeks later the House met again. In the country the political reform unions had been active, so also had been the opponents of reform among the peers. Lord Lyndhurst at once proposed and carried a motion to postpone the disfranchising clauses of the bill until the rest of it had been examined. Evidently the intention was to wreck the bill by picking it to pieces in committee. There

was then only one course open to Grey; he desired authority from the king to create a sufficient number of peers to secure the passing of the measure; if the king should refuse, the resignation of the ministry would be the necessary result. William still hoped to avoid a course which would flood the aristocracy with new creations and destroy its character. If the Tories took office and brought in a Reform Bill of their own the situation might be saved; he resolved to try the alternative, accepted the resignation of the ministry, and appealed to the duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst.

The pillar of the Tory party in the House of Commons was Sir Robert Peel. Only if he joined with the duke of Wellington would it be possible to form a Tory administration. The conduct of the two leaders was characteristic. Both without any question at all regarded electoral reform with extreme aversion, as little less than a subversion of the constitution. Both had expressed that opinion about as emphatically as it was possible for men to do. Both saw that at the stage which had now been reached the alternatives to acceptance of a practically unmodified Reform Bill were the swamping of the peers or civil war. In the circumstances the duke judged his duty simply from the point of view of a servant of the Crown. Of the three alternatives the Reform Bill was the least intolerable; he would be shirking his duty if he refused to take it upon himself to save the Crown by accepting office and himself assuming responsibility for the reform which in itself he abominated. Peel looked at the matter as a parliamentarian. The whole system of parliamentary government would go to pieces if ministers deliberately adopted a programme which they had publicly condemned as subversive of the constitution, and still believed to be so. He would not join a ministry for carrying a Reform Bill. Without Peel it was not possible to construct a Tory administration. Within a week the duke found himself obliged to inform the king that the task laid upon him was an impossible one, and to advise him to recall Grey.

Wellington fails to form a ministry.

William accepted the situation. He tried indeed to persuade

Grey to modify the bill; but the Whig leader was adamant. He would only return to office on condition of receiving the royal authority for the creation of such number of peers as might be necessary to the passing of the bill. William yielded and gave the authority. Yet a door of escape was found at the last moment. It would not be necessary to exercise the authority if assurances were given that a sufficient number of the peers would withdraw to enable the bill to pass. The duke exercised all his influence, and about a hundred of the peers joined him in abstaining from discussing or voting on the bill in its committee stage. That was sufficient; no new peers were created, no new amendments of consequence were carried, and the bill received the royal assent on 7th June.

Grey's firmness.

The bill passed, June 7th.

The Reform Bill was not final. The prophets who foresaw that it would prove to be not a barrier against democracy but a pathway leading to it, were in the right. The aristocratic Whigs who imagined that it would secure the permanent predominance of the cultured and leisured classes were wrong. But the Reform Bill postponed the coming of democracy until the memory of the French Revolution had faded into a remote past, when there were few men living who had been born when the tumbrils were carrying their daily load of victims to the guillotine. And while it postponed democracy, it was in itself nothing less than a revolution. It changed the political centre of gravity. The counties continued to be as before strongholds of the agricultural interest, of the landlords and the paymasters of the agricultural labourer. But the boroughs. which before had been mainly under the control of the same dominant class, passed entirely into the hands of traders—manufacturers, merchants, and shopkeepers, mostly employers of labour on a large or small scale, but with their interests centred in commerce, not in land. These were the people who were now to exercise the predominant influence in the House of Commons.

Effects of the bill.

And at the same time the predominance of the House of Commons as compared with the House of Lords became very

much more marked. Never before the Reform Bill had the two Houses been arrayed against each other in such direct antagonism on a question of first-rate importance, because the constitution of the House of Commons caused it in some degree at least to reflect the party divisions of the House of Lords. The interests of the two Houses had only been incidentally antagonistic when the privileges of one or the other were in question. Henceforth the main interests of the one and the main interests of the other were not identical, were often antagonistic; with the inevitable consequence that their views of what was for the public interest differed, because all men in every class have the utmost difficulty in realising that what is in the interest of their own class is not necessarily best for the public at large. And the struggle over the Reform Bill showed definitely that in the long run it was in the power of the House of Commons to coerce the House of Lords in the last resort. That view of their respective powers dominated the relations between the two Houses, so that three-quarters of a century passed before there was another pitched battle between them.

Lords and Commons.

It remains to review some aspects of the struggle of 1831-2. The central fact of the situation at the time was that the country demanded reform, and would have been satisfied with nothing less thorough than Grey's bill; that the alternative to it would have been civil war and the complete overthrow of the constitution. When it appeared that the coercion of the peers was the only way by which reform could be carried, after a general election at which it had been made absolutely clear that what the country demanded was 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill'—and only then—Grey brought into play the constitutional power of the Crown to coerce the peers by artificially creating a majority; and only then could the king be persuaded to exercise the powers he possessed. Grey was entirely right in his firm refusal to surrender any part of the bill, and his determination to carry it in the last resort by the only available means. Not less was the king right in making even the last despairing attempt to avoid

William, Grey, Wellington, and Peel.

that exercise of his prerogative by changing his ministers, and again in yielding to Grey when that attempt had failed. From the constitutional point of view, Peel was right in declaring that public confidence would be destroyed if ministers made themselves responsible for measures to which they avowed themselves opposed in principle; and yet there was something heroic in Wellington's acceptance of the very responsibility which Peel was right in refusing. And finally Wellington was right in withdrawing his opposition to a measure which he regarded as bad in itself, but knew also to be unequivocally demanded by the nation. At the same time, the immediate reason of his withdrawal was not so much acquiescence in an adverse national judgment as fear of civil war, and, still more immediately, fear of a creation of peers.

The proposed creation of peers.

Finally, with regard to that anticipated creation of peers, it is not easy to understand the apparent conviction that it would have changed the character of the House of Lords. It seems to have been supposed that as few as fifty new peerages would have been found sufficient to meet the necessities of the case. Most of them would at any rate have been allotted to members of aristocratic families. The number, of course, would have been altogether exceptional for a single stroke. Yet since the beginning of the reign of George III., and especially since the younger Pitt's accession to power, commoners had been elevated to the peerage in such numbers that the addition of another fifty, of whom as many as possible would themselves have been the eldest sons of peers, who if they lived would in any case have become peers in due course, would have made no very great change. Of much more real importance was the danger of creating a precedent on which ministers might base a demand for a creation of peers when the emergency was less instant than in 1832—the possibility that such creations might gradually be turned into instruments of party warfare. It was primarily in order to prevent such a catastrophe, foreshadowed by the Tory creations at the end of Queen Anne's reign, that Sunderland had introduced his Peerage Bill in 1717. For this reason it was well that the threatened

necessity of a large creation for the purpose of carrying a particular measure was avoided; but from the point of view of anything approaching a theory of popular government, it was also well that as Walpole had defeated Sunderland's Peerage Bill, so also, in 1832, the principle of the royal prerogative of creating peerages without limit of numbers was unequivocally asserted.

II. Grey's Ministry, 1833-1834

The Reform Bill created a new electorate; the next step was to enable the electorate to choose its representatives in parliament. As soon as possible, at the end of the year, parliament was dissolved and the new House of Commons met in February 1833. The Tories, or, as we are now to call them, the Conservatives, were badly beaten at the polls; Peel had less than one hundred and seventy of them at his back. But the rest of the members did not form a homogeneous party. In the first place, O'Connell had his own following from Ireland, making up a quite distinct party of thirty-eight 'repealers' who voted not on the merits of any given question, but with the simple object of embarrassing the government or obtaining a *quid pro quo* for any support which they might lend to it. There was the extreme wing: men who called themselves Radicals, sometimes with the term 'philosophic' attached to it, while some of them might be more definitely classed as demagogues—not necessarily a term of abuse. More numerous than these were the free-lances, some of whom would go with the Conservatives if the government took an advanced line, while others would go with the Radicals and the repealers who voted together when ministers showed signs of Conservatism.

1833. The new parliament, February.

Against combinations of the adverse elements the government was not over sure of a majority; and if Peel had acted upon the simple doctrine that 'the duty of an Opposition is to oppose,' he could probably have turned them out. But to turn them out would have served no good purpose, because no other government was possible. Instead of doing so

Peel's attitude.

he adopted the politic attitude which left to the government the responsibility for the government measures, while it did his work. In effect, by supporting ministerialists against the Radical wing, he achieved the double aim of educating his own party to accept the logic of facts, and to act on the assumption that the Reform Bill was irrevocable, and of preventing the ministerialists from being dominated by the Radical section. Incidentally he established his own position as the most powerful personality in the House.

No subject more immediately or more persistently engaged the attention of parliament than the problem of governing Ireland. But the Legislative Union had not bridged St. George's Channel. Irish members sat at Westminster, but Ireland still remained separate from Great Britain in so marked a degree that it will continue necessary to give Irish affairs separate and consecutive treatment. The same practice must be applied to foreign affairs, to India and to the colonies ; and the history of domestic legislation will be all the clearer, though we shall be obliged in the course of it to make such references to those other matters as may be necessary to explain the changes of government which were occasionally induced by them.

Questions other than domestic postponed.

The era of domestic legislation was, in fact, inaugurated by the Reform Bill. Since that date we have become so thoroughly accustomed to the infinite multiplication of laws that we regard ceaseless legislation as the habitual function of a legislature. Every year witnesses great accretions to the Statute Book. Yet there was no such perpetual activity in earlier times. The population of the British Isles has quadrupled since the last year of the eighteenth century. The conditions of life have become infinitely more complex, and the law is perpetually called in to define and to regulate where definition and regulation appeared unnecessary in the past, when long-established customs seemed sufficient guides. The nineteenth century saw the creation of a whole series of problems for which there was no precedent, and of which it appeared that the only solution was to be found in legislation.

An era of legislation.

Until the Reform Bill, the disposition of government was to ignore the problems except at moments when their existence seemed to threaten a system of law and order which took no account of them; and then it did not attempt to solve the problems, but dealt drastically with their disorderly exponents. Before the reform of the electorate, the ruling classes believed quite honestly that they were the only people in the country fit to have anything to do with the management of public affairs; that there were no problems to solve, and that the poor were unaccountably ungrateful for the generosity of the rich. The condition of the proletariat was a part of the nature of things, and it would do more harm than good to attempt to improve it by legislation. Those of them who were conscientious did their best by purely individual action to relieve distress among their own dependants. But the idea of providing remedies by corporate action instead of relief by individual action hardly presented itself as practicable.

Emergence of problems.

The Reform Bill transferred the balance of political power from the class of rich people whose relations with their own dependants were of a traditional semi-feudal character, to a class of rich or moderately prosperous people who had no such traditions. The Industrial Revolution had produced a new class of relations between employers and employed in manufacturing occupations. These new relations called for adjustment, and the new electorate was aware of the fact, dimly conscious that there were problems, beginning to suspect that they would have to be dealt with by legislation, which still seemed incredible in the case of relations which had a long tradition of custom behind them.

Change of ruling class.

Moreover, the national conscience was troubled. It was quite capable of sympathising with suffering and with victims of injustice when it realised that they were victims of injustice, though the realisation was sometimes difficult to bring about. At the close of the eighteenth century it had begun to understand that the conditions of the prisons was a blot on British civilisation. It had come to see that the slave-trade was an abomination in which the country had been

Humanitarianism.

particularly active for a couple of centuries; and it had thereupon set itself in dead earnest to persuade all Europe to join in suppressing that iniquity. It had begun to feel the barbarity of its criminal code. If its sensibilities were stirred, it was ready to make some sacrifices in what it conceived to be the cause of humanity; and it was a good deal easier after the Reform Bill than before it to touch its sensibilities and bring them into play. And though the results were by no means always happy, a good deal of the new legislation followed from the returning activity of the humanitarian spirit; though this was still crossed both by a concrete fear of the proletariat and by an abstract belief in the *laissez faire* doctrine of competition, unqualified except, it might be, in relation to the foreigner.

The new parliament, itself the offspring of a reforming movement, assembled with a disposition to advance reform in fresh fields. The legislative activities of the year were of the highest importance. Setting aside Ireland and India, the most sensational of them was the Act for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. Lord Mansfield in the reign of George III. had pronounced that in the British Isles no one was a slave in the legal sense; and in 1807 British participation in the slave-trade had been abolished. But Lord Mansfield's dictum did not apply to the British colonies, and vast numbers of negro slaves were employed in the West Indian plantations and in South Africa. The Act of Abolition passed in 1833 emancipated all slaves throughout the British empire. Simple unqualified emancipation would have been a huge injustice to slave-owners whose slaves had hitherto been their property with the full sanction of the law. It would also have involved a dislocation of the whole labour system in the slave-holding colonies which would have produced sheer chaos. The latter difficulty was met by fixing a term of six years during which the emancipated slaves were to be maintained by their masters, whom they were to serve as before without wages for three-fourths of their time. At the end of the six years of what was called 'apprenticeship' they were to become free wage-earning labourers. As to the owners,

Abolition of slavery.

The Act of Abolition.

they were to receive compensation for the loss of their property. When it was calculated that the sum of £20,000,000 would be required to make the compensation adequate, the payment of that sum was voted by parliament without a murmur. It has sometimes been said that no great and far-reaching reform has ever been carried until resort has been had to violence, or at least, when emancipation has been concerned, until the class to be emancipated has proved itself too dangerous to be ignored. But the emancipation of the slaves in the British empire is a very marked instance to the contrary. Nobody dreamed of emancipating the slaves in order to avert a danger. Nor did any one anticipate any profit to himself from the liberation of the negroes. The United Kingdom deliberately paid £20,000,000 in order to relieve its conscience of what it had only recently taught itself to regard as a stain; and it had no motive whatever except the moral one. Economically, the expediency of the measure was questionable; it carried with it some undoubted evils; in South Africa especially the slave-owners felt that they were by no means adequately compensated by the liberality of the mother country. But the grand fact remains that the United Kingdom voluntarily paid for abolition at the rate approximately of £1 per head of the population, on moral grounds, and on moral grounds alone.

The Abolition Act was a great achievement, the final completion of the Anti-Slavery movement which had been initiated not quite fifty years before. The second of the government's measures, less dramatic, important perhaps more for its significance than for its achievement, was Lord Althorp's Factory Act, commonly spoken of as the first Factory Act. Strictly speaking, it was not actually the first. Fifty years before, still in the eighteenth century, the system of collecting workers in factories had already progressed so far that the pernicious sanitary conditions, and especially the conditions of the employment of children, had attracted attention; matters were made worse by the obsolescence of the Elizabethan law of apprenticeship. That law allowed the masters in the scheduled trades to employ only journeymen

Work in factories.

Apprentices.

and apprentices, the number of the latter being restricted, and various regulations being enforced with regard to them. But the trades which were not scheduled under the Elizabethan law were under no such restriction; they had increased and multiplied, employing large numbers of young folk to whom apprenticeship regulations did not apply; and the practical result was that where apprentices were employed the regulations were very commonly disregarded. It was the duty of the parish authorities to place pauper children as apprentices as soon as they were old enough; but as soon as that had been done the parish considered that it had discharged its responsibilities, and there was no one to see that the pauper apprentices were properly treated. Hence the worse kind of masters got as much as possible of their work done either by pauper apprentices, who had no one to look after their interests and insist upon regulations being observed, or by young people who were not apprentices at all, and for whose protection regulations did not exist even nominally.

Precursors of factory legislation.

The Manchester magistrates, as the outcome of a Committee of Inquiry in 1784, declined to indenture children as apprentices where their working hours were not restricted to ten. This had little enough effect, because children could be employed without being apprentices. So the Manchester Board of Health was formed with the object of procuring legislation in order to make proper sanitary conditions and reasonable hours of labour compulsory. Many manufacturers were setting an excellent example, but there was no way of bringing into line those who economised at the expense of their workpeople. Hence in 1802 Sir Robert Peel, father of the more famous son who bore the same name, procured the actual first Factory Act, very limited in scope, and giving protection only to apprentices, for whom night-work was forbidden, and whose hours of work in the day were limited to twelve, while some regulations were imposed for securing the barest decency in the conditions under which they lived. In 1819 an attempt was made to strengthen the Act, but at that moment the manufacturers were alarmed at the mere idea of the state interfering with their perfect freedom of control; and the only additional

limitations imposed were the prohibition of the employment of children under nine in cotton mills, and the restriction to twelve hours, not counting meal-times, of the employment of any one under sixteen. Six years later, the work on Saturdays was limited to nine hours.

Now the general development of humanitarian feeling, to which allusion has been made, encouraged a general desire to improve conditions which were obviously destructive of the health of the rising generation, and threatened very seriously to lower the national physique. Only here and there were there manufacturers like Robert Owen who believed in the positive economic advantage of such improved conditions. Owen put the thing to a very practical test in his own works at New Lanark. He employed no pauper apprentices—the cheapest possible form of labour, since the parish authorities were always only too eager to get the pauper children off their hands; he employed no young children at all; he provided education for the children of his employees; and the hours of work of all his hands were comparatively short. Yet the success of his business failed to convince his neighbours that his methods were economically sound. Those benevolent manufacturers who were now inclining towards state interference were doing so because they believed themselves to be handicapped by their own benevolence in the competitive struggle, and saw in compulsion applied to their neighbours the only way in which the handicap could be removed; although in the abstract they regarded state intervention for the regulation of trade as injurious to trade. Hence the movement did not follow party lines. But so far as it did so, it was favoured rather by the Conservatives whose strength was in the agricultural and landed interests, than by the Liberals whose strength was in the manufacturing and trading interests —the newly emancipated classes. For to the trader the economic arguments were all in favour of *laissez faire*, whereas to the agriculturist they were in favour of the protective intervention of the state.

Movement for intervention.

Humanitarian, not economic.

Thus in 1832, in the still unreformed parliament, it was the

Tory Michael Sadler who forced the question forward by introducing a Ten Hours Bill. The bill was withdrawn owing to the opposition of the manufacturers; at the general election Sadler lost his seat. But his mantle descended upon Lord Ashley, best known to later generations as Lord Shaftesbury, since he succeeded to the earldom in 1851. Lord Ashley immediately introduced a measure the object of which was to make effective regulations already supposed to be in operation, which there were no practical means of enforcing. The bill, however, was withdrawn in favour of Lord Althorp's Factory Bill of 1833. The bill applied to the textile industries. It forbade the employment of children under nine, except in silk mills; it limited that of children under thirteen to nine hours in any one day, and to forty-eight hours in any one week. 'Young persons' from thirteen to eighteen had their work-time limited to twelve hours and sixty-nine hours. It seems sufficiently amazing that such limitations as these should not have been universally acted upon without legal compulsion, and that they should in practice have been habitually transgressed. The great new departure in the Act was the machinery by which the compulsion was made effective; and for this the manufacturers themselves were responsible. At their instance government inspectors were appointed with powers of free entry, of calling evidence, and of exacting the penalties for infringement.

Sadler and Ashley.

1833. Althorp's Factory Act.

Three other measures which require notice were passed in 1833. The Bank Charter Act renewed the charter of the Bank of England, and made its notes legal tender everywhere except by the Bank of England itself, which was still required to give gold for them on presentation. The notes passed current, as being promises to pay in gold which were secure of being honoured at the Bank of England; they were not an inconvertible paper currency as had been the case during the long period of the suspension of cash payments. The charter of the East India Company also came up for renewal; the terms on which it was renewed threw the Indian trade entirely open, and closed the career of the company as a

Three useful measures.

commercial corporation, without altering its political status in India. The third measure was the establishment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, taking the place of occasionally appointed committees for discharging the functions of a final court of appellate jurisdiction for the British dominions overseas and for ecclesiastical causes. Finally in this year was made the first national grant for purposes of education, a matter which in England had hitherto been left entirely to private enterprise; the education of the poor having been undertaken almost exclusively by the mainly Nonconformist British and Foreign School Society and by the Anglican National Society. The grant was small enough; the amount was only £20,000; but it was the first step, the first hint of a dawning consciousness on the part of the state that the education of its children was a matter of national concern.

First grant for education.

In 1834 came the most sweeping measure of reform. It certainly could not be said that Lord Grey's government set itself to catch votes. The abolition of slavery was approved by the nation, but appealed to the direct interest of no class in the whole community. The Factory Act was regarded by that body of employers who supported it as a philanthropic expression of their own rectitude from which others were to derive the benefit; the working classes looked upon it not gratefully but suspiciously. It prevented the younger children from adding their pennies to the family purse; it emanated from the capitalist, and therefore must certainly be intended in some way or other to benefit the capitalist class at the expense of the operative. And it had taken the place of the Ten Hours Bill which they had expected to shorten indirectly the hours of adult labour as a result of the direct shortening of the hours of children's labour; a consequence which was not to be expected from the new Act, which tended to encourage the employment of children in two shifts, keeping one or other at work over a complete day of sixteen hours. Least of all was the Poor Law Amendment Act calculated to achieve popularity. The subject was, in fact, one which no government could expect to handle conscientiously and effectively without acquiring a great deal of ill-will.

Conscientious legislation.

The Elizabethan Poor Law had served its turn fairly well for a century and a half. It had relieved extreme destitution; it had provided a certain amount of employment for men who were willing to work and could get nothing to do. It began to be felt as insufficient with the change in rural and industrial conditions during the second half of the eighteenth century. And at the end of that century it had been transformed into a positive instrument of evil by its administration after Gilbert's Act. The old system of giving relief to able-bodied persons only if they entered the workhouse, and did the work provided for them, was set aside; relief was given indiscriminately to the needy; and then the Speenhamland scheme was generally adopted, and the labourer's wages were supplemented out of the rates. Theoretically, he received the amount necessary to make up the equivalent of a living wage for himself and his family, whether large or small; with the result that he ceased to think of the existence of any ratio between work and wages. He got enough to keep him alive, and practically no more, whether he worked well or worked ill. He had every incentive to add everything he could by illegitimate methods, none to increase his earnings in legitimate ways. He was taught to believe that he had a claim to be supported; incidentally, he was very often taught by his spiritual instructors that it was wrong of him to be dissatisfied with his lot. And at the same time his paymasters were encouraged to keep his wages at a minimum.

State of the Poor Law.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 interposed drastically to counteract the evils which had for the most part grown up since Gilbert's Act. Only in one respect was the precedent of that Act followed; the process of combining parishes into larger unions with a correspondingly improved organisation was pushed forward. Otherwise there was a return to the earlier precedents. Outdoor relief was abolished; relief from the rates was given only to those who were in the workhouse. With no help from the rates the worker was obliged to demand, and the employer was obliged to give him, a wage on which he could keep himself and his family alive in return for his work; so that

1834. Poor Law Amendment Act.

efficiency in work again acquired a market value, and the workman was encouraged to do the better work which would earn him a higher wage. But the new Act also ignored the still earlier precedent which assumed that it was the duty of the community to provide employment for the man who was honestly willing to work, and honestly unable to find work to do.

The remedy was drastic. Wages did not immediately adjust themselves to the new conditions. Able-bodied men who found themselves out of work or insufficiently paid also found themselves starving; they would not send their families into the workhouse, so they starved too. It was only by degrees that the beneficial effects of the change showed themselves. The rates dropped, and the farmers began to find that they could pay in increased wages what they had before paid in the high rates. Both employer and labourer found that better wages and better service went together. The Poor Law ceased to act as a pauperising influence; work and wages were restored to something like their true economic relations. But the process was slow, and in its earlier stages it was accompanied by a vast amount of severe suffering. The unpopularity of the bill was not diminished by the establishment of a Poor Law Board of three commissioners with very wide powers of controlling the administration of the new law, powers which they employed with a relentless if necessary rigour which produced an impression of extreme and most unsympathetic harshness.

Its effects.

Before the bill was passed into law, Lord Grey resigned—a step in which he had been preceded by several of his colleagues, and in which he was accompanied by Althorp. The cabinet had become seriously divided over Irish questions. On the Poor Law Bill, Peel in the Commons gave a steady support to the government in resisting the pressure of the Radicals to relax its severity. The result of Grey's resignation was that Melbourne took his place as prime minister and reconstructed the Liberal cabinet; since neither Liberal nor Conservative chiefs saw their way to a coalition, and the seceders from the government did not go into actual opposition. The ministry was saved when Althorp, under pressure from practically the whole party, con-

sented to return to the cabinet. He was one of those statesmen who, without being brilliant, attract to themselves a vast amount of confidence by the plain common sense which appeals to the average man, and by conspicuous integrity and devotion to duty. The present generation can recall the somewhat similar authority which was reposed in a later Earl Spencer, and in the late duke of Devonshire.

III. Melbourne, 1834-1841

Melbourne succeeded Grey in July. The Poor Law Amendment Act had already passed through the House of Commons, and Wellington employed his influence to carry it through the House of Lords almost unopposed. In spite of the change, the government seemed so secure that, when parliament was prorogued, Peel went abroad. Yet three months later King William dismissed the ministry. By his father's sudden death, Lord Althorp became Earl Spencer, and his accession to the title involved his withdrawal from the Commons to the Peers; the strength of the government depended largely upon the influence of his personality in the Commons; and Melbourne himself seems to have been doubtful of his ability to carry on the government. The king would not listen to his suggestion that the leadership of the House of Commons should be entrusted to Lord John Russell. Five days after Earl Spencer's death, Melbourne himself conveyed the royal summons to the duke of Wellington. The king had lost confidence in a Liberal government, the more since Grey's retirement and the failure to effect a coalition between Melbourne and Wellington. He wished to see the Conservatives in power, and he believed that the country had the same desire. He knew that Melbourne was personally not unwilling to lay down the burden of office. There was no question that the dismissal of ministers with whom he was dissatisfied lay within the king's prerogative; and he acted upon it—for the last time. Wellington advised him to send post-haste to Italy for Sir Robert Peel, and in the meantime

1834. Melbourne, July.

Fall of the ministry, November.

himself took over the business of administration with all the three secretaryships of state in his own hands. Peel returned with all possible speed, took over the office of prime minister on 9th December, constructed a cabinet of Conservatives, having failed to induce any of the Liberal seceders to join him, and dissolved parliament on 30th December. The general election only raised the strength of his party in the House of Commons to 270. The position was curiously reproduced in 1910 and 1911, when a Unionist government, like the Conservatives in 1835, would have been quite unable to carry out its task in face of a combined Opposition of official Liberals, the Radical wing represented by the Labour party, and the Irish Repealers or Nationalists. In April, Peel's government suffered a direct defeat and resigned; and Lord Melbourne again returned to office.

1835. Peel's ministry, December-April.

Since the dismissal of Melbourne by William IV. the Crown has accepted the doctrine that it should act strictly on the advice of ministers. The long reign of Queen Victoria established the constitutional practice; the queen never dismissed her ministers, although there was never any formal abrogation by the Crown of a right which in the past had been frequently exercised, notably so lately as in the case of George III. and the coalition ministry of 1783. Such action would at least temporarily identify the Crown with one political party, and the complete severance of the Crown from party was the most notable product of the unfailing practice during the sixty-four years of Queen Victoria's reign.

1834. The king's action, November.

When faced with the general election Peel had issued what was known as the Tamworth manifesto, a statement setting forth the principles on which he proposed to conduct the government of the country. In fact, it was an expansion of the text that the middle road is the safe road to follow. He declared in effect that the old ultra-Toryism and the new democratic Radicalism must both be discarded. The Reform Bill was an accomplished fact from which there was no going back. The country was committed to the correction of proved abuses and the redress of social grievances,

1835. The Tamworth manifesto.

but only after careful inquiry, and in combination with the firm maintenance of established rights; yet this was a very different thing from treating every suggested grievance as an abuse demanding instant suppression. The manifesto was one of those declarations to the terms of which any one of any party not being an avowed extremist could cheerfully subscribe; since every one will claim that he is personally in favour of judicious reforms, but not of reforms which are injudicious or ill-considered. But it did not remove almost unlimited opportunity for a difference of opinion as to which category any specific reform was to be included under. The importance of it lay mainly in its departure from the old Toryism in definitely recognising that there were subjects which might be legitimately approached in a reforming spirit—that a review of existing institutions was permissible and justifiable.

During his brief tenure of office Peel introduced sundry proposals of a reforming character. He appointed an ecclesiastical commission to investigate the distribution of church revenues, and a bill to relieve dissenters from the necessity of marriage according to Anglican rites. But the Liberals were angry at having been ejected from office, and were determined to eject Peel. An understanding was arrived at with O'Connell, known as the Lichfield House Compact, which of course presented itself to the other side as a monstrously flagitious bargain. Russell raised a debate on one of the burning Irish questions, that of tithe, the government was defeated, Peel resigned, and Melbourne returned to office. But the new government depended for its preservation upon the support of the Repealers, and consequently its Irish policy was largely dictated by O'Connell.

Peel's ministry overturned, April.

Weak as the government undoubtedly was, it carried in 1835 one measure of first-rate importance, a corollary of the Reform Bill itself—the Municipal Corporations Act. This was the outcome of a commission of inquiry appointed under Grey's administration. The government of most boroughs had fallen into a very corrupt condition, and was for the most part in the hands of some

Melbourne: Municipal Corporations Act.

small oligarchical group which applied the revenues of the corporation exclusively with an eye to its own interests. The Act remodelled the constitutions of very nearly all the old boroughs, providing them with a uniform system. The oligarchies were displaced, and the government of the borough was placed in the hands of a mayor, aldermen, and a body of councillors elected by the ratepayers and freemen, holding office for three years. The councillors elected the aldermen, who held office for six years; and the whole town council, including aldermen and councillors, elected the mayor for one year. In effect, the reform placed the whole administration in the hands of an elective body, very much as the Reform Bill had restored the House of Commons as a body of elected representatives. The bill was supported by Peel in the Commons, but was very nearly wrecked in the House of Lords by the devices of the old Tories, guided by Lord Lyndhurst. The Lords' amendments, however, were rejected except on minor points by the House of Commons, Peel in effect giving his support to the government, and the Tory Peers did not venture to maintain their resistance.

During 1836 and the first months of 1837 several minor reforms of an unobtrusive nature were carried, such as the introduction of a purely civil marriage before a district registrar, of the system of registering births and deaths as well as marriages, and the reduction of the stamp duty on newspapers from fourpence to a penny.

1836. Minor reforms.

The year 1837, however, is a landmark in our history, because in June the old king died and was succeeded on the throne by his niece Victoria, the only child of Edward, duke of Kent, the fourth of the sons of King George III. With her accession began the longest reign in our annals. Only once since the succession to the throne of the house of Hanover has the transfer of the crown from a monarch to his successor inaugurated a conscious change in policy. George III. deliberately set himself to recover political ascendency for the Crown. The girl of eighteen who succeeded King William IV. was no innovator like her grandfather, and made no attempt to obtrude her personality into politics. To

1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.

all appearance, things went on as they had done before. She was very young, extremely conscientious, intensely interested in her duties, clear-headed, and determined. Also she was a queen, not a king. This combination of qualities made her an admirable subject to work on for the wise mentor who took her political education in hand, Lord Melbourne. The result was that in the course of her reign she perfected the British type of constitutional monarchy in which the Crown exercises not a control over party programmes, but a pervading influence independent of party.

The Duke of Cumberland.

At the moment, however, the fact of first significance was that, but for Victoria, Ernest, duke of Cumberland, would have become king of England. The duke's personal character was objectionably notorious; and politically he was known to be an extreme reactionary. William had restored to the Crown some of the credit which his elder brother had dissipated; but he had not made the throne really popular or deeply respected; there was no strong sentiment of loyalty to it. Conservatism adhered to monarchy partly because it was traditional, partly because the British monarchy was not aggressive, partly because it was still mortally afraid of sansculottism. Had Cumberland become king it is by no means impossible that the Revolution of 1688 would have been repeated, with no one to take the part of the Prince of Orange. But the country was disposed from the first to treat the young queen with a mildly critical benevolence, which her own excellent qualities soon transformed into a sincere loyalty. A secondary, but by no means unimportant result of the succession was that the crown of Hanover was separated from the crown of England, passing by the law of male succession to Ernest of Cumberland. The Hanoverian connection ceased to be a political complication, as it had constantly been ever since 1714.

Severance from Hanover.

Before the session of parliament closed, an Act was passed abolishing capital punishment, except for the crimes of high treason, murder, piracy, arson, and robbery with violence. Parliament was then dissolved and the general election gave

the government a reduced majority of only thirty-four, counting Radicals and Repealers (of whom there were now only thirteen) among its supporters. The houses met in November, and within eighteen months of that date Melbourne's second ministry had come to an end. The circumstances precluded any vigour of legislative activity, and the government was surrounded with embarrassments. There was a rising in Canada, which had to be dealt with. In 1838 popular discontents were bringing to birth on one side Chartism, and on the other the Anti-Corn Law League. Trade unionism was not at the moment prominently active. But the Poor Law had supplied the labouring classes with a fresh grievance, and they were full of the conviction that the panacea for all evils was to be found in the political predominance of the labourer. The manufacturers, on the other hand, saw the root of the depression of the working classes in the high cost of living, and were beginning to look upon cheap bread, to be obtained by the abolition of the Corn Laws, as the remedy. Philanthropy apart, they could also see that with cheap bread a lower wage would still keep the working-man in comparative comfort; and the lower wage would mean less cost of production for themselves. If the agitation against the Corn Law had not arisen amongst the manufacturers, who could easily be represented as having only their own interests in view, the working classes might have found the cry an attractive one. As it was, it appeared to them to be a red herring drawn across the path by their enemies, the capitalists, in order to distract them from the pursuit of political power.

Weakness of the ministry.

Remedies for popular depression.

Hence, in 1838, a body called the London Workingmen's Association tabulated a series of political demands which came to be known as the People's Charter, while its advocates were known as the Chartists. There were six points in the charter: abolition of property qualification for members of parliament; the payment of members; vote by ballot; manhood suffrage; equal electoral districts; and annual parliaments. No one at the present day asks for annual parliaments; but of the points named, the first three

1838. The People's Charter.

have all been conceded, equal electoral districts is merely another form of the demand 'One vote one value,' while manhood suffrage or even adult suffrage hardly present themselves as revolutionary ideas. But in 1838 they seemed extremely revolutionary, and undoubtedly the great mass of the population expected a complete social revolution to result from their realisation.

The demand for the repeal of the Corn Law was not a general or popular one. The working classes fought shy of it, the agricultural interest abhorred it, and it had not taken hold even of the manufacturers. In 1839, however, the Anti-Corn Law League was formed, and an extremely vigorous propaganda was instituted, the leading spirits being Richard Cobden, Charles Villiers, and John Bright, whose agitation was to bear fruit abundantly within a remarkably short space of time.

1839. Anti-Corn Law League.

The Corn Law agitation was as yet hardly an embarrassment for the government; hitherto it had not reached the point of attracting any of the recognised political chiefs. The Chartists, however, began to cause grave alarm. They were divided between the moral force men who wished to rely upon constitutional agitation, and the physical force men who held that their ends could only be gained by terrorising the authorities. In 1839 the latter section was distinctly gaining the upper hand. Then, in June, a monster petition embodying the points of the charter was brought before the House of Commons. It was dismissed by the House in July without discussion. Riots immediately broke out at Newport and elsewhere, but were energetically suppressed. John Frost and two other leaders were arrested, charged with high treason, and sentenced to transportation. The Newport riot was a practical demonstration that the physical force behind the Chartists was not adequate to defy the physical force behind the government.

Chartist troubles.

These disturbances weakened a ministry already weak enough. Another colonial trouble, this time in Jamaica, brought them so near to defeat in the House of Commons that Melbourne

tendered his resignation to the young queen, to her intense regret, and advised her to send for Sir Robert Peel. So ended the second Melbourne administration. Yet it was hardly dissolved before the same ministry was called upon to resume office. Peel was joined by Wellington, Stanley, and others, and laid the list of his proposed cabinet before the queen; but at the same time he informed her that it would be necessary for her to dismiss the ladies of her household—all Whigs or Liberals—as it was not proper that the influences about her person should all be antagonistic to the government. Times had changed since the reign of Queen Anne, so that there was practically no precedent. Queen Victoria entirely declined to change her ladies. Peel declined to take office, except upon that condition; and Melbourne came to the rescue, consenting to return to office in order to save his royal pupil from her dilemma.

Melbourne resigns.

The bed-chamber question.

The reconstructed ministry was palpably weaker than it had been even before Melbourne's resignation. The grant for education was increased from £20,000 to £30,000, and was accompanied by the appointment of some school inspectors; an Act, the result of a libel case known as *Stockdale* v. *Hansard*, gave protection to the authorised reports of parliamentary proceedings. But nothing more striking characterised English legislation. In 1840, the queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, who as Prince Consort became an invaluable ally and adviser to her, especially after Melbourne's death some years later. Melbourne, however, held on until the summer of 1841, when, after being defeated on a vote of 'no confidence,' he advised the queen to dissolve parliament. The general election went heavily against the government; it was defeated on an amendment to the address by a majority of over ninety; and at the end of October Melbourne for the third time resigned.

1839-41. Melbourne again.

IV. Peel, 1841-1846

The immediate cause of the resignation of Melbourne's ministry was its defeat by one vote on a motion of 'no confidence'; but this had been preceded by a defeat on the budget. Finance had been throughout the weak point of the Liberal administrations; year after year there had been deficits, while no serious attempt had been made to evolve new means whereby the revenue should be brought to balance the expenditure. On the crucial question of the Corn Law, they had retained the sliding scale devised by Huskisson and adopted under the last Tory administration. Latterly, however, while they held aloof from the pure free trade doctrine of the Anti-Corn Law League, they had inclined to the substitution of a fixed duty upon foreign corn in place of the sliding scale. In 1841, it was proposed in the budget to abolish the sliding scale, and to establish in its place an unvarying duty of 8s.; and it was on this proposal that they had been defeated.

1841. Need of financial reform.

Peel, then, upon taking office found himself face to face with a very serious task. Although there was a slight lull in the Chartist agitation, the general financial depression and the poverty of the working classes were very grave, and the country was engaged in a troublesome war with China. Before the year 1841 was out, alarming events were taking place in Afghanistan; and during the winter the depression reached its lowest depths. In Peel's view, financial reconstruction was of first necessity. The party was committed to no programme; it had confidence in its chief, who was supported by a decidedly strong cabinet; and it remained for Peel to design a policy which should carry with it the continued support of the parliament in which he actually enjoyed a decisive majority. And in that majority the agricultural interest was predominant.

Peel's difficulties.

With a miserably low level of wages, the high price of bread was conspicuously a prime cause of the sufferings of the wage-earning classes. It was also obvious that the high price was maintained

by the tax upon imported corn, which was intended to ensure that the price of grain should be high enough to make agriculture pay, but not so high as to prevent bread from being reasonably cheap. But, in fact, the sliding scale operated so as to encourage speculation in corn, which caused violent fluctuations in price often ruinous to the farmer, while keeping the price of bread at the high level. This was the particular evil which the Liberal proposal of a fixed duty was intended to remedy.

The sliding scale.

Peel, however, in 1842 still held to the principle of the sliding scale, which he modified in the hope that the change would secure the farmer by steadying the fluctuations in the price of grain, would lower the price of bread in some degree for the working classes, and would do so without increasing the dependence of the country upon foreign corn supplies. Instead of the 23s. imposed under the old scale whenever the price of grain was less than 64s., a maximum duty of 20s. was to be imposed when grain was 50s. or less. When grain was as high as 75s. there was to be only a 1s. duty on imported corn, and no duty at all when the price rose above 75s. Between 50s. and 75s. the impost was to be applied on a carefully graduated scale, diminishing from 20s. to 1s. as the price rose. Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers denounced the whole scheme as one which afforded no relief to the poor, and was really intended to benefit no one but the landed interest. The Liberals insisted on their old alternative, a fixed duty of 8s. The agricultural interest, though rendered suspicious and uneasy, stood loyally by Peel; and extreme protectionist proposals for making the duties more stringent were rejected as emphatically as those of the Liberals and the Leaguers. The measure was carried.

1842. A revised sliding scale.

In other respects, however, Peel's budget of 1842 marks an epoch in the national finance. The aggregate deficits in the last five years amounted to little less than £8,000,000; the anticipated deficit for the coming year would be about £2,500,000. Unless there were a change, the deficits would continue to increase. Mindful of Pitt and

An epoch-marking budget.

Huskisson, Peel believed that in the long run diminished duties increase revenue, and that the abolition of duties on raw materials, by diminishing cost of production, so fosters manufacture and increases wealth as to add to the revenue from other sources more than it loses by being deprived of the duties. The same argument applied to export duties on home products. He proposed therefore to reduce the import duties on 750 out of the 1200 taxed articles, making all those on raw materials merely nominal, and to abolish the export duties on British manufactures. But whatever benefits might accrue to the revenue in the long run from Tariff Reform on these lines, the immediate effect would be to reduce revenue and still further to increase the anticipated deficit.

To meet this deficit then it was imperatively necessary to impose new taxes which would bring in some £4,000,000. A part of this was to be provided by laying upon coal **Income tax.** exported in British ships the same export duty as upon coal carried in foreign bottoms—the preference given to the former being a survival of the partially repealed Navigation Act. But the main new source of revenue was to be the imposition of an income tax of sevenpence in the pound. Such a charge had been imposed by Pitt as a war tax, and, as being exclusively a war tax, it had been abolished a year after Waterloo. Peel now looked upon it as an emergency tax, intended to tide over the period until his reform of the tariff should again increase the revenue instead of diminishing it. In the meantime, the cost of living would be so far lowered by the reform of the tariff as to provide the tax-payer with more than the equivalent of the amount paid in income tax. That was the theory. Year after year sanguine chancellors of the exchequer retained a fond belief that in a very few years it would cease to be necessary to impose the income tax. That happy hour never arrived, though it was only in the twentieth century that the fiction was dropped and the chancellors of the exchequer definitely included the income tax as a recognised permanent and necessary source of revenue. The income tax was vigorously but unsuccessfully opposed by the Liberals, whose political forebears had procured its abolition

twenty-six years earlier. Peel was also vigorously assailed as legislating on behalf of the landed interest, because of his retention of the corn and sugar duties which protected the British landowner and the West Indian sugar planter, while he withdrew protection from British traders. Nevertheless the budget was triumphantly passed.

Budgets of 1843 and 1844.

In the following year, Goulburn, Peel's chancellor of the exchequer, found that there was after all a deficit. But this was explained by the fact that only six months' instead of twelve months' income tax had been collected. Since it was evident that the yield of that tax was going to exceed considerably the amount estimated, no alterations were made. In 1844, the justice of the calculation was demonstrated by a realised surplus of over £2,000,000. Good harvests and improving trade warranted some further remissions in taxation. But the year was signalised by two other financial measures of great importance. One was the conversion of £250,000,000 of the national debt, by which the interest payable thereon was reduced from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ for ten years, and was to be at the end of ten years further reduced to 3 per cent.; effecting a diminution of the annual charges by £625,000 during the first period, and £1,250,000 afterwards. The conversion was warranted by the substantial rise in the price of consolidated stock since Peel had come into power.

Bank Charter Act, 1844.

The second financial measure was the Bank Charter Act. By this Act the banking and issue departments of the Bank of England were separated; and while the banking business remained in the hands of the directors, the issue business was strictly regulated. Notes might be issued to the amount of £14,000,000 against government securities; the further issue of notes was to be limited to the amount of bullion in the cellars of the bank. At the same time established banks other than the Bank of England were restricted to issuing notes to a total value not exceeding £8,500,000, while no banks established in the future were to be allowed the privilege of issuing notes at all. This measure was the result of recent over-trading, which had multiplied private banks in America and

in Great Britain until there was an enormous excess of paper money in the market; with the result that when depression set in there were runs on the banks which they were unable to meet, and many were brought to ruin, with a generally disastrous effect upon credit. The Act made no direct provision for meeting a panic, but Peel reckoned, and was justified in so doing by the event, that in case of a crisis the Act would be temporarily suspended.

Meanwhile there had been, in 1842, a second insurgence of Chartism, again accompanied by riots, and again suppressed without great difficulty, which further discredited the physical force party; and there was another lull in the movement, partly at least in consequence of the recovery of trade.

1842. The Chartists again.

There were, it has been remarked, three methods of dealing with the working-class problems created by the industrial revolution: combinations among the workmen, extension of political power to the working classes, and legislation by the governing classes. The first movement was comparatively speaking in the background. The working men for the most part placed their faith in the second, which found its expression in Chartism. They did not believe that legislation emanating from the governing classes was really intended for their benefit. Hence they distrusted the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers, detested the new Poor Law, and held Althorp's Factory Act of little account. They knew in fact that legislation directed to the control of the relations between employer and adult workmen was not to be looked for, while they were singularly callous to legislation for the protection of the children, which they favoured only when it seemed, as in the case of Sadler's abortive Ten Hours Bill, to promise the men indirectly and as a consequence a reduction in the hours of labour.

About the time, however, when Peel came into office an agitation was beginning, to check the employment of women and to reduce their hours of work. The men were waking up to the fact that their own employment was curtailed by the employment of cheaper female labour, and that a reduction in the women's hours of work might

1842. The collieries report.

as a matter of organisation necessitate a reduction in the men's hours of work. The movement received a great impulse from the publication in 1842 of a report on the employment of women in mines and collieries. A commission of inquiry discovered an appalling state of things. Women and quite small children were working in galleries underground, carrying burdens or dragging trucks, forced to stoop or crawl the whole time, doing in fact everything which women and children ought not to do, everything most admirably calculated to ruin utterly the physique, the intelligence, and the morals of future generations. The public mind was so shocked by the report that Lord Ashley was able to carry, almost unopposed, a Mines Bill which prohibited the employment underground of females of any age or of boys under ten (1842).

The Mines Bill.

The impulse born of the collieries report was again intensified by the emotional appeal of Mrs. Browning's poem, 'The Cry of the Children.' In 1843, Sir James Graham introduced a new government Factory Bill, which Ashley endeavoured to amend by fighting for a ten hours clause for women and young persons. A first edition of the measure had been withdrawn in the previous year in consequence of the hot opposition of the individualist economists commonly known as the Manchester school, who were convinced that all questions of employment should be left to be settled by unfettered competition, on the questionable assumption that masters and employees alike were entirely free agents. The second edition was reduced to chaos by cross voting on amendments. Finally, Graham introduced the bill in a third form, which applied to women in factories the regulations which had already been made to apply to young persons. An inadequate attempt was also made to meet the difficulties which had revealed themselves to the inspectors under Althorp's Act in their efforts to enforce the rules applied to children and young persons. For children a half-time system was enacted, restricting the employment of every child to the half day before the dinner hour or the half day after it, instead of allowing them to work in 'relays,' which had made it practically impossible to ascertain whether

1843-4. Graham's Factory Bills.

the children were being worked for too long. It was required at the same time that they should attend school for three hours daily.

In 1845, interest again centred on Peel's financial measures. The three years for which the income tax had been imposed were now over. The balance between revenue and expenditure had already adjusted itself. Peel, however, felt that the successful experiment of 1842 might be repeated. A renewal of the income tax would permit him to carry through another stage in the reduction of duties. The revenue derived from it would enable him to dispense with the revenue from the indirect taxes which he proposed to remove, until full compensation should be derived from the corresponding development of trade. The development of trade would at the same time increase the demand for labour, the amount and the price of the employment obtainable by the working classes. The sugar duty was reduced; such of the export duties as still remained were abolished; so were the duties on more than four hundred articles, the raw materials of manufacture. Practically, the general principle of protection was thrown over, and Benjamin Disraeli, the most effective of the champions of protectionist principles which had been hitherto generally professed by the Conservative party, denounced the government as an 'organised hypocrisy.' But this was a kind of tariff reform which had won the approval of the Liberals as well as of many Conservatives, and Peel's budget was triumphantly carried.

1845. The budget.

The budget modified the sugar duties, while it left the Corn Law untouched. There can, however, be little doubt that for some time past Peel's receptive mind had been adapting itself to a change of conviction, to a growing belief that the interests of the consumer were paramount. The same change of conviction was taking place in many other minds; it was not unique in Peel's case. So lately as in 1842, the bulk of the Liberal party still believed in protecting the agricultural interest; Lord Melbourne had declared that the abolition of the tax upon imported corn would be madness, and the Liberal attacks upon Peel's budgets were directed to the sub-

The change in Peel.

stitution of a fixed duty for the sliding scale. But the change which was coming over public opinion was precisely exemplified by the rapid progress of the Anti-Corn Law League. In 1839, the League had been well content with subscriptions amounting to £5000. In 1843, it obtained ten times that amount, which was again nearly doubled in 1844. When Peel introduced his budget in 1845 the League already had £250,000 to devote to political purposes.

These were facts of a kind which appealed very strongly to the prime minister, whose whole record shows how powerfully his own views were influenced by developments of public opinion. His conversion was completed by the terrible potato famine which in this year invaded Ireland. The population of that country in 1841 was over 8,000,000, of whom one half literally depended for their subsistence upon the potato crop ; nearly all the corn grown in Ireland was exported. In the summer of 1845, blight attacked the potato crop, which was almost entirely destroyed. Sheer starvation was staring the population in the face, and before October Peel had already come to the conclusion that grain would have to be provided. But the English corn harvest failed, grain could not be provided unless it came from abroad, and it could not be provided at a tolerable price while the tax upon imported corn was maintained.

The Irish potato famine.

On 1st November, Peel, having summoned a cabinet council, raised the question whether the Corn Law should be modified or suspended to meet the emergency—one course or the other was absolutely necessary. Once suspended, it was tolerably certain that it would be impossible to reimpose it. In his own view, modification would not meet the case. He carried with him at first only three members of the cabinet. Already it seemed probable that he might feel called upon to resign ; when towards the end of the month Lord John Russell issued the 'Edinburgh letter' declaring himself a complete convert to the doctrine of the Anti-Corn Law League. In December the attitude of many members of the cabinet had changed.

Peel's conversion completed, November.

Russell's conversion.

Wellington and others were either converted or convinced that the repeal of the Corn Law was preferable to the shattering of the party. But there were stalwarts, Stanley and the duke of Buccleuch, who refused to give way.

There was no question that Peel and the Conservatives had come into power as convinced believers in agricultural protection. Since the party was not converted *en masse*, Peel felt that as its leader he was not the right person to introduce the new policy. He tendered his resignation, and **Peel resigns;** advised the queen to consult Lord John Russell. Russell endeavoured to form a cabinet, but his efforts were finally frustrated by the refusal of Lord Grey (the son of the former prime minister) to join the government with Palmerston as foreign secretary. In the circumstances, Peel consented to resume office on the definite understanding that he did so as a free trader. All his old colleagues except Stanley con- **but resumes office.** sented to join him; Stanley's place at the colonial office and in the cabinet was taken by William Ewart Gladstone, once 'the rising hope of the Tory party,' who had been president of the Board of Trade, but had retired from office on an Irish question at the beginning of the year. Lord George Bentinck became the nominal, and Disraeli the effective, leader of the Protectionist Opposition when parliament met in January 1846.

In the debate on the address, Peel explained his position and his policy. Five days later, on 27th January, the financial resolutions were introduced. There was to be a **1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws, January-June.** further remission of duties on many manufactured articles; most of the remaining duties on raw materials were to be abolished altogether. But everything else was overshadowed by the repeal of the Corn Laws. At the end of three years they were to disappear, leaving only a registration duty of one shilling. In the interval, by way of softening the blow to the agricultural interest, a duty of 10s. was to be retained when the price of corn was at or below 48s., falling to 4s. when the price was at or over 53s. The Protectionists, led by Disraeli, made a desperate stand, resisting the passage of the bill by every parliamentary device. The bill

did not pass the third reading in the Commons until 15th May. A fortnight later the second reading was carried in the Lords with a majority of forty-seven. On 25th June the third reading was carried in the Lords, in spite of the opposition headed by Lord Stanley, who in 1844 had been raised to the peerage in anticipation of his succession to the earldom of Derby.

Simultaneous government defeat, 25th June.

On the same night the government were defeated in the House of Commons on an Irish bill, by a combination of Irish Repealers, Radical Freetraders who objected to coercion, and Tory Protectionists who approved of coercion but were bent on the destruction of the ministry which in their view had betrayed the party. Two days later Peel announced his resignation. The cause of Free Trade had triumphed, but the ministry could no longer remain in office.

Peel and Cobden.

In proffering his apologia Peel with a fine magnanimity declared that the triumph was due not to himself but to Richard Cobden, who on the Irish bill had joined forces with the Protectionists and wrought his downfall. The statement was in the circumstances not the less magnanimous because it was true. It was the unwearied zeal, the ceaseless efforts of Cobden and his allies of the Anti-Corn Law League which had educated the public, transformed public opinion, and converted Peel himself. None the less it was also true that the repeal of the Corn Laws would not then have been carried if Peel had not been converted. It was Peel's conversion which converted also a mass of Liberal-Conservative opinion, and at the same time induced the actually unconverted duke of Wellington to use his powerful influence to save the bill from rejection by the House of Lords. Peel never returned to office; but until his death in 1850 his personality continued to exercise in the House of Commons an influence more powerful than that of any other individual.

V. Russell and Derby, 1846-1852

On the resignation of Peel's cabinet the task of forming a new ministry fell to the Liberal leader in the House of Commons,

Lord John Russell. That party, though substantial in numbers, could not by itself command a majority, and depended for its continuance in office on the effective support of Peel and the Peelites—that wing of the Conservative party which had followed the great chief and could never again coalesce with the Protectionists. In spite of offers from Lord John Russell, no Peelites would join the cabinet, though Wellington continued to hold the post of commander-in-chief.

1846. The Russell ministry.

The five and a half years during which the ministry remained in office witnessed many critical events on the continent, in India, and in the colonies; Ireland also was very much to the fore; but there were few opportunities for domestic activities in parliament. Before the Houses rose, Russell took in hand the readjustment of the sugar duties which had hitherto been arranged with the primary object of protecting the interests of the sugar-growing colonies. While the duty on British colonial sugar was 14s., that upon foreign sugar was prohibitive, a secondary intention being the exclusion of sugar grown by slave-owners. Russell's bill reduced the duty on foreign sugar to 21s., and arranged for its further reduction in the course of five years to the 14s. imposed on colonial sugar. This was another step in the direction of complete Free Trade, which was carried by large majorities despite the opposition of humanitarians (on behalf of slaves), and of the Protectionists who insisted that the removal of preferential tariffs for colonial produce was a fatal blow to imperial interests.

The sugar duties.

In 1847 came an important advance in industrial legislation—the Factory Act which bears the name of John Fielden. The Act brought into existence the ten hours day for which Michael Sadler had originally contended. Fielden's bill was introduced in 1846 while the Corn Law fight was going on. It was then defeated, since it was opposed not only by the Cobdenites but also by the government as an interference with freedom of contract—the habitual argument which confronted all proposals for compulsory legislation during the next fifty years. Being brought in again when Russell was

1847. Fielden's Factory Act.

prime minister, but being no longer opposed by the official government, it was supported by many who had previously resisted it, in order to preserve the ministry from defeat; and it was carried by substantial majorities. The argument as to freedom of contract was not convincing to any one who recognised that as a matter of fact women and young persons were not free parties to a contract. Much weight, however, was attached to the argument of economists who proved elaborately that the manufacturer made his profit on the last hour of work done, so that if the number of working hours in the day were reduced by one the manufacturer would get no profit, and if by two would incur serious loss. The economists had not yet learnt that the reduction of hours may mean a more than equivalent increase in efficiency. It was very soon found that after a few months' trial, the output of ten hours' toil excelled in quantity and quality the previous output of twelve hours. The actual problem is to ascertain in any given employment the precise point at which the reduction of hours ceases to supply an equivalent in the increase of efficiency.

Shorter hours and efficiency.

Still, Fielden's Act was not easy to enforce. It retained the factory 'day' of fifteen hours from 5.30 A.M. to 8.30 P.M., requiring only that women and young persons should not be actually at work for more than ten hours out of those fifteen. The inspectors found almost insuperable difficulties in their efforts to ascertain whether the regulations were observed. Hence there came in 1850 an Amending Act which fixed the women's factory day as the twelve hours from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. Outside those hours, that is, all work done was 'night work,' from which women and young persons were prohibited. Within the twelve hours two had to be allowed free for meals, so that it became practicable to ensure that the regulations were observed, and the women were not actually at work for more than ten hours. Another practical outcome was that organisation necessitated a corresponding adjustment of the men's hours, as had been anticipated when the question of limiting women's work was raised in 1841.

1850-3. Amending Acts.

Even this Act fell short of the looked-for result, because it

still retained for children the old fifteen hours day, in one half or the other of which they might be employed. It was not till 1853 that the children's day was reduced to the same period as the women's day, and the complete readjustment of the men's work to a factory day of twelve hours became inevitable.

In 1848 Chartism made its last effort. The year was one of convulsions on the continent. It opened with the February Revolution in France, where the monarchy was quietly ejected and a republic was again established. Everywhere Nationalist and Constitutionalist movements broke out; but in the British Isles they were confined to an abortive insurrection in Ireland, the Chartist panic, and the Chartist fiasco.

1848. The year of revolutions.

Since 1843 the bulk of the Chartists had passed under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor. The physical force men had lost ground in consequence of the ease with which actual outbreaks had been repressed. But as the revolutionary movement came to a head on the continent in 1848, revolutionary Chartism appeared at least to be recrudescent in England. There was a renewed activity of agitation; large meetings assembled at which violent speeches were made, and considerable alarm was aroused. The determination, however, to keep to constitutional methods was followed—unfortunately for the Chartists, after a very unskilful fashion. A monster petition was prepared carrying, it was said, 5,000,000 signatures. A monster meeting was summoned to be held on Kennington Common on 10th April, which meeting, on its adjournment, was to march in procession over Westminster Bridge to the House of Commons to present the petition. There was a general fear that it was actually intended to seize the metropolis and overawe the House of Commons. Preparations were made, unostentatiously but on a large scale, to paralyse completely any possible attempt of the kind. An immense number of special constables were enrolled to preserve order; but at the same time the old duke of Wellington, to whom the preparations for defence were entrusted, quietly posted concealed troops in such a manner that if there were any actual outbreak of violence the soldiers would be

Chartism active.

completely masters of the situation. It was politely intimated to O'Connor that he might hold his meeting and present his petition, but that the procession would not be permitted.

The Chartist leader had no real belief in physical force, and had gone as far as he was disposed to venture in the way of bluff.

Collapse. The 500,000 who were to have gathered on Kennington Common dwindled to some 30,000. There was no attempt to march over the bridge in procession; and the monster petition was carried to the House of Commons by three hackney cabs. On inspection the supposed 5,000,000 signatures were found to number only 2,000,000, and of those it was obvious that a large proportion were bogus. The Chartist movement perished in pure ridicule. As a bogy it was finally laid. But, as already remarked, most of the political demands formulated in the People's Charter lost their terror, and were in the course of time adopted as desirable reforms.

The parliament in which Russell began his administration in 1846 was the same which had been elected in 1841. It was

1847. dissolved in 1847, but no appreciable variation in

Education. the balance of parties resulted from the general election. There is not much else to record in the life of the administration so far as its relations to domestic affairs in Great Britain are concerned. Apart from the Factory Acts, the most progressive measure to its credit was the education grant of 1847. The amount of the grant was now raised to £100,000. The main object was to increase the efficiency of the teachers, for whom a very elementary kind of training was provided by the introduction of a system of assistance by pupil-teachers. Advanced pupils in a sort of transition stage were initiated into the work of teaching before they became full-fledged responsible masters and mistresses. Provision was also made for pensioning masters when they became superannuated. But the grant was still applied so that it gave no assistance to Roman Catholics, and benefited mainly the Anglican schools where the children of Dissenters could be withdrawn from the religious education provided under a conscience clause. As has always been the case when this very thorny subject has come up for consideration, the

measure was opposed both by Anglicans and Dissenters for precisely opposite reasons.

At the close of the administration much excitement was created by a papal bull dividing England into territorial dioceses, with territorial titles, and appointing Father Wiseman cardinal and archbishop of Westminster. This appeared as an unwarrantable act of papal aggression because of the manner in which the thing was done, though in itself it was trivial enough. The 'No Popery' cry was sufficiently vigorous to enable Russell to pass in 1851 the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which declared the papal bull to be null and void, and imposed heavy penalties on any Roman Catholic bishops who assumed the territorial titles. The Act, however, was merely a safety-valve for anti-papal sentiment, and no attempt was ever made to apply it effectively.

1851. Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

Lord Palmerston's conduct of foreign policy was a frequent cause of anxiety not only to statesmen of other schools, but also to his own colleagues. He vindicated his principles in a splendid effort of parliamentary oratory, remembered as the *Civis Romanus Sum* speech, in 1850; a speech which established his popularity in the country, and elicited from Peel, who condemned his policy, the encomium, 'It has made us all proud of him.' The debate was the last in which Peel took part. On the following day he was thrown while out riding, and the injuries he received proved fatal. His death deprived the ministry of the independent but invaluable support that he had habitually accorded to it. It had been his paradoxical fate to carry through parliament at least two reforms of enormous importance, to both of which he had been strongly opposed almost until the last moment. He had been a persistent opponent of Catholic emancipation until 1828, and was a supporter of agricultural protection when he took office in 1841. He was not an originator in politics, but he was endowed with an exceptional capacity for realising that he had been mistaken in rejecting the ideas of more original persons than himself. And his unequalled skill as a parliamentarian enabled him to give practical effect to such ideas, as no other man could have succeeded in doing.

1850. Death of Peel.

In the personal ascendency which he exercised in the House, whether in or out of office, he had no rival. In his capacity for absorbing and making his own ideas which had once been abhorrent to him he was equalled perhaps only by his pupil and follower, William Ewart Gladstone.

Ministerial crisis in 1851.

At the beginning of 1851 there occurred a ministerial crisis. The government's Budget proposals were unsatisfactory, the Peelites in general were opposed to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the finality of the great Reform Bill was already being seriously called in question. It was Russell's intention to make some proposals for the extension of the franchise, but a motion was carried against the government in favour of placing the county and borough franchises on the same basis. Russell tendered his resignation ; but the formation of a new ministry by any process of combination proved impossible, and the same government resumed office. Later in the year there came another crisis. Palmerston had already been taken seriously to task for treating foreign policy very much as if it was a private concern of his own, acting on his own responsibility without keeping either the queen or his colleagues adequately informed of what was doing. In 1851 Louis Napoleon effected the *coup d'État* which established him as the head of the state in France. Palmerston again transgressed in a manner which compelled the queen to insist upon his dismissal. The foreign secretary felt himself precluded in the peculiar circumstances from offering more than an incomplete defence of his action, for which there was better excuse than was apparent. But within a few weeks he got what he called 'tit for tat with Johnny Russell,' when the government, owing to Palmerston's intervention, was defeated on a Militia Bill (February 1852).

1852. Fall of the ministry.

Derby's ministry

After this defeat the ministry could no longer retain office. The Conservatives were in a considerable minority, but Lord Derby (hitherto known to us as Stanley) undertook the task of carrying on the government. Lord George Bentinck was dead, and the leadership of the House of Commons along with the chancellorship of the exchequer was

entrusted to Disraeli, although his brilliancy, ingenuity, and supreme skill in debate had not yet by any means won the real confidence of the party. For the time being it was necessary to avoid contentious questions. But the position was uneasy. Parliament was dissolved in July, but after the general election parties remained very much as before. This was conclusive proof that on the crucial question of Protection the country had not changed its mind as expressed in 1847 at the election which followed the repeal of the Corn Law. The question was laid to rest, on the formal adoption by an overwhelming majority of a resolution pronouncing that the Act of 1846 was wise and beneficial, and that the extension of the policy of Free Trade would most contribute to the prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people. In its original form the resolution had been unnecessarily offensive to the whole body of those who had fought against Free Trade, but of whom many had been converted by the actual success which had attended Peel's policy. A judicious amendment, however, by Palmerston, made the motion sufficiently acceptable; nor was the subject again brought into the arena of practical politics until the twentieth century.

The burial of Protection.

But the ingenious Budget proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer was discovered by the financiers of the Opposition to be directed to compensating the landed interest at the expense of the community. The Budget was defeated, Lord Derby resigned; it was now evident that the only possible government must be the product of a coalition between Liberals and Peelites; and Russell consented to waive his own claim to the position of prime minister in favour of Lord Aberdeen, the foreign secretary of Peel's cabinet.

Disraeli's Budget defeated.

Before the Derby government fell, another great figure had vanished from the scene. In September the duke of Wellington was laid in his tomb in St. Paul's 'to the noise of the mourning of a mighty nation.' He had been a great soldier, a great public servant, who throughout his life had unfailingly subordinated every other interest to what he judged

Death of the duke.

to be his duty. In his last years he had won what till then had been denied to him—the love and affection, as well as the admiration, of the whole people. The final judgment of the nation and the world is enshrined for ever in the noble memorial ode of the poet laureate, Alfred Tennyson.

VI. Ireland, 1830-1852

Daniel O'Connell.

Throughout the twenty years following the Reform Bill—which, like the Bill of Rights, is always referred to as a Bill instead of as an Act—Ireland was an ever-present trouble to successive ministries. In 1829 the 'Liberator' achieved the great object for which he had spent half his life in fighting, and in effect forced Catholic emancipation upon a Tory government. But the manner of the surrender only roused in O'Connell a renewed hostility. He had extorted one tardy act of justice; now he would extort another kind of reparation. He had opened his political career as an opponent of the Treaty of Union between Great Britain and Ireland; now he set himself to champion the same old cause, and to demand the repeal of the Union which was presently to become the supreme and persistent claim, in one form or another, of political malcontents in Ireland.

Emancipation did not conciliate.

Had the Union been attended by emancipation and by the subsidiary concessions to the Roman Catholics which Pitt had in contemplation, it is probable that the old hostility between Catholic and Protestant would have faded away with the complete removal of the religious grievance. That happy consummation had been entirely frustrated by the obstinate conscience of George III. Concessions were made to the Protestant Nonconformists, at one time the hottest opponents of the English connection, which transformed them into its most determined supporters, but at the same time embittered the grievance of the Catholics, and raised anew the barrier between them and the Presbyterians which the policy of the United Irishmen had so nearly removed when it combined

them in hostility to the British domination. In 1829 emancipation came not as a boon conceded in the spirit of justice and generosity, but as a right extorted by fear, granted reluctantly and ungraciously. Instead of having a conciliating effect, it was only an incentive to the pressing of further demands.

The political demand for repeal was the cry which O'Connell took up when he found that the Whigs on taking office showed no disposition to reward him for the assistance he had given in bringing about the downfall of the Tory ministry. But the demand was thrust into the background by the persistence of a Catholic grievance which had not been removed by emancipation. The land had to pay tithe to the clergy of the established Church, and the person who paid the tithe was the occupier, whatever his religion might be. The occupier felt that he was compelled by the law to pay tithe for the maintenance of a Church which included less than one-fifth of the population, while no provision whatever was made for the Church of four-fifths of the population. If he was one of the four-fifths he naturally resented the law which endowed an alien Church. And the grievance was made tangible because he personally had to pay his contribution in cash or in kind. The fact did not present itself to his mind that if the tithe had not gone to the parson it would have gone instead in the form of rent into the pocket of his landlord. It appeared to him simply that the collection of tithes was a monstrous injustice; nor was the case made any better by saying that the tithe was the lawful property of the parson; that was merely another way of saying that the law itself was unjust. An eternally depressed agricultural population, living habitually at only one or two removes from starvation, fastened upon the tithe as one of the causes of its sufferings, and a particularly unjust one.

1832. The tithe grievance.

So there arose what was called the tithe war. The peasantry refused to pay tithe, and applied their own forms of coercion to those of their number who did pay it; who were subjected to a merciless persecution. The sympathies of the population were on the side of the persecutors, who in consequence could enforce their own decrees very much more effectively

The tithe war.

than the government could enforce the law. Witnesses could not be persuaded to give evidence, and even when convincing evidence was produced juries refused to convict. All the familiar forms of violence and outrage were brought into play, and popular leaders did nothing to hold them in check, though it was never possible to convict O'Connell himself of giving positive encouragement to violence.

Coercion.

The reformed parliament in England under Grey's leadership practically initiated the system of seeking to pacify Ireland by removing grievances with one hand, and with the other applying exceptional measures for the enforcement of the law, measures generally referred to as Coercion Acts. There was always a section of the Liberal party which was disposed to rely upon conciliation and to abstain from coercion. There was always a section of the Conservative party which was disposed to rely upon coercion and oppose conciliation. O'Connell always maintained that neither conciliation nor coercion nor the two together would ever give peace to Ireland until the Union was repealed; but in Great Britain, at least, no one of any party for half a century to come could see any reason to suppose that repeal would produce the desired effect.

1833. Coercion and 'appropriation.'

So in 1833, Stanley, then chief secretary for Ireland, introduced a Coercion Bill of an exceedingly stringent type, which included the partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and a partial application of martial law, and was duly carried in spite of the vehement opposition of O'Connell and the Radical wing. It was accompanied by a measure for reorganising the distribution of the Church temporalities, which was sound enough in itself but did not touch the Roman Catholic grievance, except in one single respect. It was expected that under the new scheme of distribution there would be an undistributed surplus of about £60,000 which was to be appropriated by parliament to whatsoever purposes, whether secular or clerical, it might think fit. To those who were not members of the Church this seemed entirely proper; to those who were it seemed plain robbery. The government found itself obliged to yield to the views of the

churchmen and to surrender the appropriation clause. The surplus remained under ecclesiastical control. Both the bills were carried.

In the next year it was manifest that the tithe question could not rest where it was; but the Irish question wrecked the Grey administration and brought in that of Melbourne. The government in the first place introduced a bill which was to transform tithe into a land tax. But on the question of 'appropriation' there was a division in the cabinet. Russell openly declared himself in favour of appropriation, claiming in other words that ecclesiastical endowments might be appropriated by the state to secular purposes. Four ministers resigned; and then came another split on the question of renewing the Coercion Act. It had beyond doubt been effective in checking crime, but on the one side it was held that it had already served its purpose sufficiently, and on the other that the purpose would be served more thoroughly by its continuation. An informal attempt was made to arrive at some agreement with O'Connell; there were misunderstandings and imputations of bad faith, with the result that Grey and Althorp retired, though Althorp consented to rejoin Melbourne's ministry. A comparatively mild Coercion Bill was carried, but a variant on the Tithe Commutation Bill was decisively rejected by the House of Lords.

The battle of 1834.

At the end of the year the Melbourne ministry was dismissed by the king. From November till April 1835 Wellington and Peel conducted the government. Again it was the Irish question which destroyed the ministry. Russell succeeded in carrying against Peel a resolution in favour of applying the surplus funds of the Irish Church to education; in effect asserting the appropriation principle. Peel immediately resigned. The restored Melbourne ministry were able to hold office because they had come to an agreement with O'Connell, the agreement known as the Lichfield House Compact. According to Russell it was a perfectly straightforward alliance. O'Connell undertook to suspend the repeal agitation and to give the government general support on

1835. The Lichfield House Compact.

conditions which were perfectly reasonable on the assumption that he was an honest man, and inexcusable upon the contrary assumption. The same criticism, it may be remarked, has habitually applied *mutatis mutandis* to all negotiations, 'compacts,' and 'treaties' which have taken place at any time between English politicians and Irish leaders. The practical outcome at this time was that the men who were sent to govern Ireland were all approved by Daniel O'Connell.

Once more the government introduced the Tithe Commutation Bill. As before, the principle was to be that of substituting a tax levied on the landowner for the collection of tithes from the occupier. The arrears of tithes which the peasantry had refused to pay were to be met by a subsidy from the state. Again the battle was over the appropriation clause. The government carried their measure in the Commons, but the appropriation clause was defeated in the Lords, and for three years the question was shelved.

Tithe commutation suspended.

For practical purposes the man who now governed Ireland was Thomas Drummond, the under-secretary. The last Coercion Act had lapsed; disorder and violence were still rife; the tithe war was still going on. The population took its law according to the unwritten code of the secret societies, which set the laws of the government at defiance, besides being in its methods not less tyrannous and a good deal more barbarous. Drummond organised a strong administration, establishing the magistracy and the police force on a very much sounder basis, which greatly increased the effectiveness of the administration of justice. He strove energetically to develop the industrial resources of Ireland. But while he strengthened the administration of the law he bitterly offended the landlord class by his public assertion that 'property has its duties as well as its rights,' a phrase which appeared to them to be an incitement to disorder, at a moment when the rights of property were being very actively challenged, when the old agrarian grievances were at their height, tenants were refusing to pay their rents, and outrages were painfully prevalent. Drummond was determined to maintain the law, but was un-

Thomas Drummond in Ireland.

doubtedly hostile to the landlords as a class, and sympathised with the genuine grievances of the tenants.

At last in 1838 the tithe question was settled, at least for the time. The government was not strong enough to overcome the determined opposition in the Lords to the doctrine of appropriation, nor was the question one upon which it could rest an appeal to the country. A Commutation Bill which devoted the surplus to ecclesiastical purposes was passed in both Houses without difficulty; thenceforth the tithe was collected in the form of a tax upon landlords. The principle was unaltered. The land was charged with the support of the established Church and no other. The tenant, though he did not realise the fact, merely paid an increased rent instead of paying tithe direct; but his sense of grievance against the parson was removed, and his sense of grievance against the landlord was practically unaffected. One other sensible Irish measure emanated from Westminster—the establishment of the Poor Law on the same lines as that of England. But as in England, the benefits of the measure were not upon the surface as were the objections to it, so that its effect was rather irritating than conciliating. A Municipal Corporations Act was emasculated by the House of Lords, so that it practically retained the control of corporations in the hands of the Protestant ascendency by fixing a £10 instead of a £5 franchise. As with appropriation, the government at last gave way to the Peers and the bill was passed in 1840.

1838. Commutation of tithe.

1838-40. Other Irish reforms.

O'Connell's repeal agitation had first been pushed into the background by the tithe war, and then virtually suspended by his alliance with the Melbourne government. At the general election in 1841 which established Peel in office, hardly more than a dozen repealers were returned to parliament. But the truce was over and the agitation assumed new proportions. It was taken up by a group of young enthusiasts, Protestants as well as Catholics, who with their followers came to be known as Young Ireland. O'Connell recovered the ascendency which he had lost for the moment; it became evident that the demand for repeal was growing

1841. 'Repeal.'

formidable, and in 1843 Peel made it known that repeal meetings were to be suppressed by coercive measures. O'Connell replied by holding monster meetings where much inflammatory language was used, amounting to threats of armed rebellion, though the Liberator continued to pronounce against violence. The meetings were absolutely legal, and irritation was increased when a number of prominent magistrates who had attended them sympathetically were removed from the bench. This was followed by a new Coercion Act. Irishmen such as Smith O'Brien who had hitherto been supporters of the Union, were driven over to the side of Repeal. The agitation only received a fresh impetus.

Monster meetings more enormous than ever were held; then a gigantic one was organised to assemble at Clontarf on 8th October. On 7th October the government issued a proclamation which forbade the meeting. O'Connell, true to his principle of opposing open violence, succeeded in dispersing the crowds who were gathering, and a disastrous collision between the government troops and the population was averted. Nevertheless, the government, convinced of the necessity for suppressing the agitation, almost immediately afterwards arrested O'Connell himself and some other leaders on a charge of conspiracy. A jury was empanelled of which every member was a Protestant; it followed the direction of the presiding judge, and found the accused persons guilty; and they were condemned to various terms of imprisonment. In the circumstances, however, the legality of the court was open to question. On this point appeal was made to the House of Lords; and the majority of the law lords quashed the verdict, in effect on the ground that the jury had been packed. The impartiality of the highest tribunal was honourably vindicated, and O'Connell was released. But his power was gone. The old energy was beaten out of him; his followers no longer trusted in his courage; and the direction of the Irish movement passed to younger hands and hotter heads.

1843. The Clontarf meeting.

Just as the Clare election convinced Peel of the necessity for Catholic emancipation, the events of 1843 convinced him of the

necessity for a more thorough examination of the Irish problem. The Devon Commission was appointed to inquire into the land question. At the same time the religious grievance was by no means settled by the commutation of tithes. In 1845 Peel proposed to increase the endowment of the college at Maynooth, for the education of the Irish priesthood, from £9000 to £20,000, besides making an immediate grant for its pressing necessities. In spite of a loud 'No Popery' outcry the proposal was carried by Peel in the Commons and Wellington in the Lords. A further attempt was made to deal with the whole education question by the establishment of free colleges on undenominational lines. Undenominational education when the differences are no greater than those between Anglicans and Nonconformists has always excited sufficiently bitter controversy. The seriousness of the controversy was increased tenfold when the differences were those between Roman Catholic and Protestant. The 'Godless colleges,' as they were called, were legally established, but did nothing whatever to bridge the chasm between Roman Catholics, Churchmen, and Dissenters.

The Devon Commission.

1845. Maynooth.

On the top of all the other troubles came the appalling potato famine of 1845, just after the Devon Commission had presented its report. That report showed that the vast bulk of the population of Ireland depended entirely upon the produce of the soil, and that the conditions of land tenure reduced them to a permanent condition of deplorable poverty. The peasant was not only sentimentally attached to the soil; if he attempted to leave it there was practically no industrial employment to which he could resort. Consequently, he was at the mercy of a rack-renting landlord. In order to remain where he was, he would agree to any terms, even though the terms were obviously impossible to keep. The peasant's method of solving the resulting problem was to leave his rent unpaid; the landlord's solution was the eviction of the tenant. Most of the landlords were absentees; had they not been so they might have grasped the necessity of conceding fairer terms. But they left their estates in the hands of agents, and the agents

The Devon Commission's report.

regarded it as their business to extract all they could for the landlords without any consideration for the tenants. There were other cases in which the estates had passed out of the hands of the landlord himself into those of a mortgagee, more destitute of any consideration for the tenant than even a landlord's agent. Half the rents were far higher than the soil could possibly bear. And except where what was called the Ulster Custom prevailed, the tenant had no security of tenure; he could be evicted at short notice; and if by any conceivable chance he managed to make improvements in his holding, the landlord's agent raised the rent. The obviously inevitable result of such a state of things was that the tenant, left at the landlord's mercy by the law, set the law at defiance, and was enabled to do so with more or less impunity by the organisations of the secret societies.

The report shelved.

Nevertheless the report of the Devon Commission had no effective result. The doctrine of freedom of contract was invincibly predominant. On the hypothesis that contracts between landlords and tenants were free contracts on both sides, the state must on no account interfere. The shock of the revelations was just sufficiently strong to cause the introduction of a small measure in the House of Lords. Though landlords were not whole-hearted in their enthusiasm for *laissez faire* when the manufacturing interests were concerned, yet being human they found those doctrines altogether convincing when their own freedom from state interference was at stake. So the measure after being introduced was unostentatiously shelved and forgotten.

The famine.

The famine came. It finally converted Peel on the question of the Corn Laws, but the abolition of the corn duties could not serve the immediate purpose of averting starvation. The government purchased a quantity of maize which was sold at a nominal price for food. Relief works were set on foot, with reasonable pay. But little enough good resulted. Famine and destitution were accompanied by fresh outbreaks of crime. Crime brought its corollary, a Coercion Bill. The Coercion Bill was resisted in parliament by Irish Repealers and advanced English Liberals. At the last stage the Protectionists, in order

to wreck the government, joined forces with the Opposition and defeated the bill. The business of governing Ireland passed from Peel to Russell.

Again the blight descended on the potatoes, and crime continued rampant while the government could not venture upon coercive legislation. By the Labour Rate Act relief works were set going on a much larger scale than Peel's. By an extravagant interpretation of the doctrine that the government must do nothing which could interfere with private enterprise, the relief works undertook nothing except what private enterprise would leave sternly alone; so the works themselves were useless. A huge number of officials were required; the wages paid for the labour were unnecessarily high; there were no means of preventing the labourers from helping each other to do nothing; the works attracted tens of thousands of men to what was comparatively speaking comfortably paid idleness. Food was provided, but, on the same principle of not competing with private enterprise, it was sold only at the highest market rates and never reached the worst districts; pestilence broke out; and the land remained uncultivated, because most of the men went or tried to go to the relief works. And all over the country landlords were ruined.

1846. Labour Rate Act.

In 1847 the government tried legislation. It amended the Poor Law so as to legalise outdoor relief. In 1849 it passed the Encumbered Estates Act, to enable the embarrassed landlords to sell their land. They did so, with the result that the land came into the possession of men who, unlike the old proprietors, had money to spend on it, and to turn it to account. But the new men took up their land as a matter of business; they intended to make it pay; there was no accompanying change in the tenure of the tenants, who were evicted without mercy if they failed to pay their rents; and the peasantry were no better off than before. In the years which followed the famine began the great Irish emigration, the exodus to America, which in course of time reduced the Irish population by about one half while that of England and Wales was approximately doubled.

1849. Encumbered Estates Act.

Emigration.

Still the outrages multiplied. After the general election of 1847 the Russell government ventured on a new Coercion Act.

1848. Young Ireland.

O'Connell was dead, the more violent of the Young Ireland party were in the ascendent, and some of its members were arrested under the Security Act which extended to Ireland a modification of the old English law of treason. Under it one of the leaders, John Mitchell, was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Revolutionary conflagrations were breaking out all over Europe, and an attempted insurrection in Ireland was headed by Smith O'Brien. The insurrection collapsed after one trivial skirmish; several of the leaders were arrested, the death sentences were commuted to transportation for life, and all the condemned men except Smith O'Brien himself promptly accepted the ticket of leave which was offered them. For the time being, the futility of resistance to the government was made obvious, and for a while the reign of law and something like order was apparently restored.

VII. Social Aspects, 1830-1852

Reigns and dates.

Down to the reign of William III., the character and personality of the monarch were habitually the pivot upon which national policy turned. Almost invariably the reign of a particular king had a particular and distinctive character of its own, derived directly from the king himself. Since the Revolution of 1688, or at any rate since the accession of the House of Hanover, the change from one reign to another has no longer been a natural landmark; the dates of a monarch's accession and death do not mark the beginning and end of a distinctive period; they are merely convenient signposts. The character of the monarch, except during a portion of the reign of George III., has been only an influence in politics, not one of the definitely controlling factors. The phrase the 'Victorian Era' is a convenient one, because the reign of Queen Victoria corresponds roughly in point of time to the period of a series of political and social developments. But neither the date

of the great queen's accession, nor that of her death, is actually connected with any positive deflection in the course of policy or of national development. It is extremely improbable that the events in the early part of her reign would have taken a course substantially different if William IV. had still been on the throne. It was in the year 1830, not in 1837, that a new era opened with the accession to power of a ministry pledged to parliamentary reform and committed to all that parliamentary reform entailed. That era came to a close with a new movement for parliamentary reform and the introduction of a democratic extension of the franchise in the years which immediately followed the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865. From 1832 to 1868 the predominant influence in parliament, the voting power in the constituencies, was vested in the commercial and manufacturing classes.

The opening date, 1830.

Still the era falls into two tolerably distinct divisions. In the British islands the earlier, that period with which we are dealing in this chapter, was one of active legislation, culminating in the definite acceptance by the country of Free Trade principles; in the second period, active legislation was almost at a standstill. But whereas in the first period we are not impressed by the importance of the relations between Britain and the European states, in the second both Europe and America witnessed events which materially influenced national relations of every kind. Louis Napoleon established his French empire; the unification of Italy was achieved; Prussia tore from Austria the hegemony of Germany; the United States passed through the fiery trial of the great Civil War; Britain herself was plunged in the one European war in which she has taken active part between 1815 and 1914. Again, when we turn to the empire overseas, the first period witnessed the complete establishment of the principle of 'responsible government' in the colonies; while the second saw in India the portent of the Sepoy mutiny which led directly to the assumption of complete control in India by the Crown. Before we proceed therefore to the second period, we shall devote a complete chapter to the imperial aspects of the first; certain social aspects of it remain to be dealt with here.

Division of the new era.

The conditions of manufacture were very much modified, mainly as regards women and children, by the Factory Acts.

Railway development.

Advances were made in manufacturing machinery, but in the way of improvements, not through the application of a new power or a new principle. An immense change, however, was made by the application of steam power to locomotion both by land and by water, a change effectively inaugurated by the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830, only a few months before the fall of the last Tory ministry. The success of that enterprise was decisive. The line from London to Birmingham was sanctioned in 1833, and the Great Western Railway in 1835, although those ancient seats of learning, Eton and Oxford, were able for a time to resist the contamination. By 1845 there were nearly 2500 miles of railways in active work. In 1844, when Gladstone was president of the Board of Trade in Peel's ministry, the demands of passengers led to the enactment which required the railway companies to run what appeared to the authorities to be a reasonable number of trains at a reasonable speed—not less than twelve miles an hour—with covered accommodation for passengers instead of open trucks, at a rate not exceeding a penny a mile; the trains which were put on in accordance with the Act came to be known as 'parliamentary.' The companies declared that they would be ruined, but found almost immediately that the enormous increase in passenger traffic not only recouped them, but brought in such substantial profits that it was soon borne in upon them that improved accommodation and reduced fares bring not a diminution but an increase of dividends. The rapid progress of the railways led to wild speculation, followed by a disastrous collapse in 1836-7 and again in 1846, when thousands of the speculators were ruined. The results of the railway mania of that year had a sobering effect, and thereafter the schemes for railway construction were usually kept within reasonable limits.

Penny post.

Incidentally the expansion of the railways made possible the introduction in 1840 of the penny post. A rapidity of correspondence which had left even the railways far behind was inaugurated by the establishment of a telegraphic

service between London and Slough in 1844. So rapid was the advance in telegraphy that seven years later a submarine cable was laid from Dover to Calais; and before Lord Dalhousie left India in 1856 the system had been introduced in the Indian peninsula. **The telegraph.**

The steamship was not long in following the railway. In 1838 two British vessels made the journey across the Atlantic between America and England, travelling under steam the whole way. The problem of building ocean-going steamships was solved. Two years later four ocean lines had been started. It may be noted that some fifty years after the first important railway and the first ocean liners had been introduced the maximum railway speed had barely been doubled, and the maximum ocean speed was about trebled. **Steamships.**

We have seen how a dominant middle class dealt with the condition of the unenfranchised classes by legislation—Poor Law reform, Factory Acts, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. We have seen also the failure of the Chartists to take the direction of legislation out of the hands of the middle class and to transfer it to the working-men. Middle-class legislation assumed, first, that freedom of contract was the essential condition of economic progress; secondly, that bargains between the individual capitalist and the individual adult male labourer were free contracts; and thirdly, as a corollary, that the state had no business to interfere in such bargains. If, then, the labourer could not get the control of legislation into his own hands, the only alternative for him, assuming that the interests of labour and capital were antagonistic and were regarded as antagonistic by the capitalist, was to strengthen his own hands for the purposes of bargaining. As matters stood he was like an unarmed man bargaining with one armed *cap-à-pie*; the capitalist could dictate his own terms. The only method of equalising matters was combination—the power of uniting the workmen in refusal of the capitalist terms. The repeal of the Combination Laws sanctioned combination, but, in the years which immediately followed, the combinations of workers in a given employment—the trade unions—were **Labour and legislation.** **Combination made legal.**

beaten in every contest with the employers. The strike proved an ineffective weapon, since only a limited proportion of the labourers joined the union; and the whole supply of labour was so much in excess of the demand that strikes could not paralyse the employers in the conduct of their business. The trade unions, so long as they restricted themselves to legitimate methods, were still unable to bargain on equal terms. They were not sufficiently organised or sufficiently disciplined to act effectively; and, what was of no less importance, none of them had sufficient funds to maintain a struggle for any length of time.

Trade union and trades union.

During the thirties there was a marked tendency to seek for increased strength through the trades union instead of the trade union. The distinction is very generally overlooked in common speech. The trade union is a combination of workers all of whom are employed in the same specific trade. The trades union is an organisation which combines the members of several trades specifically distinct. The trade union was primarily a local association of the members of one trade in a given district. The new idea developed in three forms: the association in one large trade union of the local associations in that trade; the combination of different trade unions associated in the conduct of an inclusive complex trade; and the association of the labourers in all trades in a national or even an international trades union, based upon the recognition of a community of interest among all labourers, the solidarity of labour. Thus there was an attempt to form a National Union of cotton spinners, expressly directed to joint action on the part of all the unions for resisting any reduction of wages, but not for demanding an increase. With the same object a National Association for the protection of labour was founded in 1830, a trades union uniting the unions of various trades. A stronger and more aggressive union was the Builders' Union, which sought to combine the group of trades which might be looked upon as branches of the building trade.

Finally Robert Owen, having proved by successful experiment the economic advantage of preferring efficiency to cheapness in

labour, paying good wages, attending to sanitary and moral conditions, restricting hours, and refusing to employ young children, now devoted himself to the pursuit of a socialistic ideal which would make the workers themselves the owners and controllers of the means and methods of production. We may here remark, *apropos* of the extremely diverse senses in which the term Socialism is used, that Owen's Socialism differed essentially from the Socialism which to-day calls itself by that name. Professed Socialism now aims at making the state the owner and controller of the means of production, assuming that the manual labourer is to be the dominant factor in the state itself. Owen's Socialism placed no faith in state control, but relied upon the capacity of the working classes to acquire through association the possession of the means and the direction of the methods of production. In the one scheme the democratic state takes the place of the capitalist; in the other he is displaced by the associated workers. Owen's theory materialised in the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union which was to unite all the workers, control manufacture, and abolish individual competition. Each individual trade and each individual locality was to have its own local lodge, and no trade was too insignificant for admission into the general scheme.

Robert Owen's Socialism.

All these unions were found by the masters to be very alarming, and laid themselves open to the darkest suspicions by a great paraphernalia of secret initiatory rites, administering of oaths, and other melodramatic accompaniments. Also there was an undoubted tendency on the part of the societies to terrorise reluctant labourers. The masters united in declarations that they would employ no one who would not sign what was called the Document, abjuring unions and unionism. The alarm was raised almost into panic by a series of strikes. The strikes collapsed one after another, because still the unions were a very long way from being sufficiently provided with funds or capital; but the panic, though it did not lead to new legislation, caused the existing law to be applied with an excessive rigour which took excessive advantage of every possible technicality. The most notorious instance was

Union extravagances.

the condemnation of a few Dorsetshire labourers to seven years' transportation for no other offence than the illegal administration of an oath on the formation of an agricultural lodge of the 'Grand National' in Dorsetshire. The practical outcome was that the more sensible unions began to dispense with illegal oaths and elaborate initiatory functions.

Progress in the forties.

Already, however, the shrewder heads among the working-men were thinking out saner methods of solving the industrial problem. Leading trade unions such as those of the miners in the early forties sought to form national associations as the cotton spinners had already done, not with intent to aggression but in order to resist aggression. Instead of defying the law, the Miners' Association called in the assistance of trained lawyers; and battles between masters and the unions were fought on comparatively equal terms in the law courts. A National Association of United Trades, formed in 1845, was not so much a trades union as a federation of trades whose object was the promotion of measures favourable to the interests of the working classes, or mediation in trade disputes; on the hypothesis that the ultimate interests of masters and men were identical, and that the apparent clashing of minor interests was capable of adjustment. It produced little immediate effect; but it was a tentative experiment in a new and healthy direction, and the trade unions which had abstained from joining it were actively influenced by its spirit. They began to realise that the first step towards solving problems is to understand them. They set about the education of their members, the careful study of industrial facts, the dissemination through trade journals of sound information.

The Engineers' Society.

The new model of trade unionism was set in 1850 by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In the nature of things, an engineers' society was bound to be composed of comparatively intelligent men. Since 1830 the Manchester engineers had been organising themselves, not rushing into hasty conflicts, and accumulating funds. In 1848 the Manchester society had a membership of six thousand and a reserve fund of £27,000. It was a benefit society and

an educational society as well as an organisation for protecting the interests of the men in disputes with the masters. This was the most important of those unions in Lancashire and London, which, when combined in 1850 into the Amalgamated Society, adopted its system of organisation. The strike of the Amalgamated Society in 1852 marked an epoch in the development of trade unionism. The questions at issue were piecework and overtime, which the society desired to abolish. The masters refused the demand, rejected a proposal for arbitration, and when the men refused to work overtime, locked them out. In three months the masters had won. But the men had set an example of abstention from all violence and of steady discipline, throughout the contest, which brought them an amount of public sympathy quite without precedent. The most conclusive proof of the new spirit of discipline lay in the fact that the society survived its defeat with its strength undiminished. It had taught the meaning of organisation and discipline; in the ensuing period it provided the model for other trade organisations, but it had also proved that, however soundly organised the workmen might be, the strike was a weapon which should only be brought into play as a last and desperate resort.

Religious movements.

Two religious movements, in England and Scotland respectively, during these years, require attention. Little has hitherto been said regarding ecclesiastical matters except where they were directly intruded as political factors. But the Oxford movement and the Scottish Disruption have both in their own way counted for too much in the national life to be passed over. In both countries during the eighteenth century what we have called the rationalistic spirit predominated within the established Churches, tending to produce a certain apathy. In England the Wesleyan movement had broken in upon this, but it had not touched the clerical body or the educated classes nearly so much as the uneducated emotional masses. It had been essentially of the Protestant order, insisting upon the close immediate personal relation between the individual and his Creator. It was the very antipodes of the Oxford movement, which claimed to be a Catholic

revival; not a return to the Roman obedience but a renewal of the claim of the one recognised Church before the Reformation, and of the leading school of Anglican divines in the seventeenth century, to a Divine authority inherent in the priesthood. To the new reformers it seemed that spiritual life had departed out of a Church which had become little more than a sort of social organisation vaguely interested in morality and professing merely a perfunctory acceptance of loosely defined doctrines. This was the inevitable result of the theory which permitted every man to apply the criterion of his own reason to vital dogmas. Religious truth had been revealed; the depository of the revelation was the Church; and its interpretation and application rested not with the reason of the individual layman but in the ordinances of the Church Universal which could be modified by no lay authority whatever. And the Church speaks and acts only through its ordained clergy, upon whom the succession to the apostles themselves has descended by the laying-on of hands in accordance with the unbroken practice from the time of the apostles themselves. The so-called churches which have ignored or failed to preserve the apostolic succession are without a priesthood, and have severed themselves from the Catholic Church. Those which have retained the apostolic succession may fall into error like the Church of Rome or the Greek Church, but are still branches of the Catholic Church. It was claimed consequently that the doctrines of the Church cannot be formulated by the state, and that there can be no valid lay jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Tractarian movement.

It followed that the new school, reviving the mediæval conception of the authority of the Church, reverted also to the mediæval interpretation of its doctrines. The movement may be described as having been inaugurated by a sermon preached at Oxford in 1833 by John Keble. Its prophets were Keble, John Henry Newman, and, still more prominently in popular estimation, Doctor Pusey. With other coadjutors, they issued a series of pamphlets, entitled *Tracts for the Times*, culminating with 'Tract XC.,' which

'Tracts for the Times.'

sought to demonstrate that the doctrines of the Church of England, as set forth in the formularies in the Prayer-Book, do not contradict the doctrines formulated at the Council of Trent; with the inference that the doctrines of the Church of England are reconcilable with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. But the further inference was drawn not only that it was possible to hold all the doctrines which Protestantism regarded as papistical, and yet to remain within the Anglican Church, but also that these interpretations were the true and only doctrines of the Church, and that Protestant interpretations were in the nature of heresy.

In the course of time Newman and many of his companions found themselves forced to the conclusion that the true authority was to be found in the Church of Rome and not in the Church of England; the majority, however, remained with Keble and Pusey in the Anglican Church. At the same time the new school revived, as orthodox, doctrines and observances which had long been entirely, or almost entirely discarded, treating them as of vital importance, while for a long time at least public opinion denounced them as papistical; and the authorities recognised by the state, though rejected by the Tractarians, inclined to the popular view. The Tractarians, however, while denying the authority of the state, did not sever themselves from the Established Church. And it is not to be questioned that they did bring into the Church a new intensity of spiritual life, although it did not carry them to the point of surrendering endowments in order to be released from the lay control which they denounced.

Rome and the Tractarians.

A different course was followed in Scotland. In that country the primary question was not, as in England, one of dogma or ritual, but was definitely that of 'spiritual independence.' The General Assembly claimed supreme authority in the Church. The nomination to parishes according to statute law was in the hands of lay patrons. Custom but not law allowed the congregations to reject the appointments. But the principle of lay patronage appeared to be objectionable, and in 1834 the General Assembly definitely

Scotland: the Disruption.

declared by what was called the Veto Act that the presbyteries must refuse appointment to any nominee on the protest of the heads of families in the congregation. Two cases followed, in one of which, the Auchterarder case, the patron insisted on presenting his nominee to the living in spite of his rejection by the presbytery. The law courts upheld the patron. In the second case, that of Strathbogie, the presbytery obeyed the statute law instead of the Veto Act, whereupon the Assembly sought to enforce its authority. Being defeated on the point of law, the Assembly appealed to the government to abolish Church patronage. The government declined, and the great Disruption followed. In May 1843 nearly five hundred ministers seceded from the Church, which was under state control, leaving their manses and their stipends; and the Free Church of Scotland was created, depending entirely on the voluntary contributions of its members.

A note on literature.

Of the literary history of the period it may be said that it was a development along the lines marked out in the thirty years preceding. Of the great poets, Wordsworth survived till 1850, but added little of consequence to his previous work. Scott died in 1832, Coleridge in 1834. But they had worthy successors, notably in Tennyson and Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose fame for many years entirely eclipsed that of her husband, whose full recognition did not arrive till near the end of his life. In the thirties, Thomas Carlyle made his reputation and established his position as a new intellectual force by the publication of his *French Revolution*; in the next decade appeared the first volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. Charles Dickens began the publication of *Pickwick* in the last year of William IV.; Thackeray, after many years of literary work, sprang into fame with the appearance of *Vanity Fair* in 1847. Disraeli won as a novelist a fame which he eclipsed as a politician. And Thomas Babington Macaulay by the *Essays* which he contributed to reviews and by the opening volumes of his *History of England*, which appeared in 1848, created the prose style which has been accepted consciously or unconsciously as a model by succeeding generations of journalists.

CHAPTER V. IMPERIAL AFFAIRS, 1830-1852

I. Foreign Affairs

In the conduct of foreign policy the mantle of George Canning fell upon Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston in the peerage of Ireland. In 1809, at the age of twenty- **Palmerston.** five, he had become secretary at war (having declined a seat in the cabinet) in Perceval's ministry. He retained that office in successive ministries—entering the cabinet in that of Canning—until he parted from the Wellington ministry in 1828. In 1830 when he had already attained his forty-sixth year he became Lord Grey's foreign secretary. Except during the five months of the Wellington-Peel ministry, from November 1834 till April 1835, and the five years of Peel's administration, from 1841 to 1846, Palmerston was continuously at the Foreign Office until his dismissal in December 1851; that is, for fifteen and a half years out of twenty-one. He was then out of office for twelve months, at the end of which he joined the Aberdeen cabinet as home secretary. Two years later, at the beginning of 1855, he became prime minister, and remained prime minister till his death in 1865, except during an interval of less than eighteen months when Derby was again in office. That is to say, out of the fifty-six years from 1809 to 1865, he was in office forty-seven years, in the cabinet twenty-nine years, and in effective control of foreign policy for twenty-five. When he became foreign secretary he had behind him a ministerial experience of nearly twenty years, and could no longer be called a young man in the ordinary sense of the term; but he retained to the very last a light-hearted buoyancy which younger politicians might have envied, and which was the despair of his graver colleagues. His name was associated with no domestic reform, though he was a

member of many reforming cabinets. But his vigorous assertion of British influence in the affairs of Europe—a policy which never in fact involved us in conflict with European powers though it caused them extreme annoyance—has given him a unique place in our history.

The European position in 1830.

When the Grey ministry came into office at the end of 1830, France had just dismissed the Bourbon Charles X. and set up what might be called the bourgeois monarchy of his cousin, Louis Philippe of Orleans, the 'Citizen King.' In the East, non-intervention carried to extremes by the duke of Wellington had left the settlement of the Eastern question for the time being to Russia; in Portugal the same policy had withdrawn British support from the Constitutionalists and the young queen Maria, and given the predominance to the reactionaries, headed by the queen's uncle Dom Miguel. In the East Russia was on the verge of absorbing Poland in defiance of the Vienna settlement; and finally the July revolution in France was attended by the development of a serious situation in the Netherlands.

The Belgian question.

This last was the immediate problem with which Palmerston had to deal at the outset of his career as foreign secretary. The powers at Vienna, very much to their own satisfaction, had settled that the whole of the Netherlands, which for a couple of centuries had been divided into the Northern United Provinces, or Holland, and the Southern, Spanish, or Austrian Netherlands, should form one kingdom under the house of Orange. For a century and a half previously it had been the object of French ambitions to annex the Southern Netherlands to France; and it had been a primary object of British statecraft from the days of William of Orange to those of Castlereagh to prevent that annexation. The powers in their settlement had systematically ignored every sentiment and every consideration suggested by the word nationality. Belgium—the Southern Netherlands—was anything but homogeneous with Holland. Racially the Teutonic element in it was much smaller; its language and its religion were not the language and religion of the northern states. It resented its absorption into Holland

the more because the Dutch were apt to treat the Belgians almost as a conquered people.

During August and September 1830 Belgium broke out in revolt, demanding independence. The Eastern powers resented a disturbance of the Vienna settlement. Britain and France, on the other hand, favoured the separation of Belgium and Holland—France because she had hopes of making Belgium a dependency of her own. In November a conference of the powers was held in London. Palmerston's diplomacy first secured that the powers should agree on a basis on which the separation of Belgium from Holland should be effected. Belgium rejected the territorial arrangements proposed, which Holland accepted; and proceeded to offer the crown of Belgium to Nemours, the second son of the French king. Under pressure from Palmerston, who was quite determined that Belgium should not become a dependency of France, Louis Philippe declined the crown for his son in February. Palmerston proposed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, an uncle of the English Princess Victoria, accepting the suggestion that he should marry an Orleanist princess. The selection, on this understanding, was accepted by the conference and by Prince Leopold himself in June. The conference at the same time modified the proposed territorial arrangement. It was the turn, however, of the Dutch to refuse the terms. Dutch troops were marched into Belgium; Belgium appealed to Britain and France; and France dispatched troops to Belgium. Again the pressure of Palmerston stopped the hostilities; in 1832 France and Britain acting together blockaded Antwerp, where the Dutch held out stubbornly till they were forced to surrender in December; and in May 1833 Holland accepted the terms, though six years passed before the final treaty between Holland and Belgium was actually signed. The final settlement was a distinct triumph for Palmerston, for he had induced the powers to recognise the principles of nationality and constitutionalism ignored by the Congress of Vienna, had prevented the new kingdom from becoming an appendage of France, and had procured an international guarantee of her neutralisation.

1830-3. Palmerston's management.

The same disposition to co-operation on behalf of constitutionalism in antagonism to the theories of Vienna, accompanied by the same latent opposition between the ulterior aims of Britain and France, is to be observed in the Peninsula. Down to 1830, France under Charles X. was on the side of reactionary absolutism; after 1830 she was on the side of the constitutionalists; but Palmerston was always on guard against the French endeavours to acquire an ascendent influence in the Peninsula, much as in the case of Belgium. The two powers together actively supported the young Portuguese queen Maria against the pretensions of her reactionary uncle Dom Miguel; and in the summer of 1833 the queen was in possession of Lisbon.

Anglo-French relations.

In the same year Ferdinand VII. of Spain died, having by decree set aside the law of male succession instituted twenty years before, which would have given the crown to his brother Don Carlos, while he declared his own infant daughter Isabella to be his heir, and her mother Christina regent. Carlos, with the reactionaries behind him, claimed the crown; Christina threw herself on the support of the constitutionalists. In 1834 Palmerston effected an alliance between France, Spain, and the Portuguese and Spanish queens. The two pretenders, Miguel and Carlos, found it necessary to withdraw, though Carlos presently returned, and Spain long continued to be a theatre of civil war.

1833-4. The Spanish and Portuguese questions.

In the East the Greek question had been brought to a decisive issue by Russia at the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. Still the details of the final settlement remained to be arranged, and Britain and France had a share in the arrangement which finally recognised Greek independence, and in 1833 gave the crown of Greece to Prince Otto of Bavaria. A new Eastern question, however, now came to the fore. The Porte in its contest with the Greeks had called in to its aid Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, who there ruled nominally as the sultan's viceroy. The pasha had ambitions of his own; in 1832 he and his son Ibrahim took possession of Syria, and advanced on Constantinople. Britain

The Eastern question.

1832-3. Egypt.

and France were too busy with Belgium to act. The sultan in despair appealed to Russia. Russia sent troops to the Bosphorus. The Western powers could not afford to leave Turkey to become a Russian protectorate; yet in the spring of 1833, and in spite of an inadequate attempt at diplomatic intervention by the Western powers, she was allowed to conclude with Russia the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. In effect Turkey placed herself under the protection of Russia, and undertook to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations except Russia in the event of war. By Britain this was regarded as a breach of her own treaty rights. Britain, France, and Austria all protested, but practically without avail. Austria, in fact, seemed very much inclined to play into the hands of Russia unless her own immediate interests were jeopardised; and Palmerston's already strong disposition to suspect Russia's aggressive designs was intensified.

Not many years passed before Palmerston found his opportunity for subverting Russian influence at the Porte. Mehemet Ali had met with a decisive check in 1833, but five years later he was obviously planning to make himself independent lord of Egypt and Syria. In 1839 Turkish troops advanced against him, but they were defeated, and the Turkish fleet went over to him. Once more it appeared that the pasha would be able to dictate to his suzerain, who could only be saved from him by the intervention of the dangerous protector, Russia. Palmerston did not intend to leave the protection of Turkey to Russia. On the other hand, France was disposed to back up Mehemet Ali, on the theory that, in her own interest, Egypt should be an independent power dominated by French influence. In Palmerston's view it was necessary, in order to curb Russian aggression, that the integrity of the Turkish empire should be maintained by Europe at large, whether with or without the goodwill of France. Russia could not resent the principle of united action, and in July 1840 Palmerston procured the Treaty of London under which four of the five powers, Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to guarantee in concert the integrity of the Turkish empire and to

1840. Palmerston turns the tables.

offer terms to Mehemet Ali which he was to be compelled to accept.

France was furious and threw herself into vigorous preparations for war; but Palmerston reckoned with perfect justice that when the decisive moment arrived the French king would not fight. The powers dispatched their ultimatum to Mehemet Ali. He rejected the ultimatum and opened negotiations with the Porte. The Porte rejected his overtures and declared that he was deposed from his pashalik. When the time allowed to Mehemet Ali had expired, Palmerston acted at once. British fleets, with some support from Austria, bombarded the Syrian ports, captured Acre, and drove Ibrahim out of Syria. Practically, Britain had done the work of the powers single-handed. Russia had no share in the operations; France accepted the situation, and in July she was joined with the other four powers in concluding the new Treaty of London. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi became waste paper. Mehemet Ali was left as hereditary pasha of Egypt, and Egypt only under Turkish suzerainty; Syria was restored as an integral portion of the Turkish empire. Finally, Britain took the place of Russia as the saviour of Turkey and as the power whose influence predominated at the Porte.

Palmerston's success.

Events in China and India will be dealt with elsewhere. Here it is only necessary to note that while the Melbourne ministry was still in office the Indian government had intervened in Afghanistan, and restored to the throne at Kabul as its own protégé an exiled prince, Shah Shuja; inspired thereto by the efforts of Russia to extend her influence to Afghanistan as a part of the ingenious method by which she was acquiring an ascendency in Central Asia and pushing towards the Indian border. Almost at the moment of Peel's accession to power in 1841, the Afghans rose against the government which had been set up by British bayonets, and a fresh Afghan war was necessary to save British prestige. During very much the same period the British became involved in the first China war, which, like the Afghan war, was brought to an end early in Peel's ministry.

1841. India and China.

When Melbourne's ministry fell, Palmerston was succeeded

at the Foreign Office by Lord Aberdeen. Much mutual hostility had been aroused between France and Britain in connection with the Eastern question. Both the governments were desirous of preserving friendly relations, but in each country there was a strong sentiment of popular hostility and suspicion towards the other. Every source of friction was sedulously magnified. Palmerston had treated France with scant ceremony, being confident that she would not translate bellicose words into bellicose deeds. The duke of Wellington, who detested war, lacked Palmerston's airy confidence, and persistently warned Peel that war was imminent. Palmerston proved to be right; there was no war, but the perpetual friction required perpetual delicate handling. The most troublesome of these causes of friction was to be found in Spain where Louis Philippe was intriguing to procure the marriage of the young queen and her younger sister to two of his sons. The possibility of a French succession in Spain, or even of a French prince consort, was one which could not be accepted with equanimity, but consent was given to the marriage of the king's younger son to the younger of the Spanish princesses. Extreme irritation and disgust, however, were created when Louis Philippe procured the marriage of the young queen to a cousin of her own in circumstances which precluded the possibility of any child being born, and therefore seemed to ensure that a grandchild of the French king would one day sit on the Spanish throne. The Spanish marriage was effected in 1846, a few months after the formation of Russell's ministry in England in succession to that of Sir Robert Peel. The affair went far to increase the sense of distrust and ill-feeling.

1841-6. Aberdeen at the Foreign Office.

The arrival of 1848, the 'year of revolutions,' was of grave import in European politics. In France the February Revolution sent the Orleanist family out of the country and reinstated a French republic, in which Louis Napoleon, a son of the great emperor's brother Louis, succeeded in procuring his own election to the presidency before the end of the year. The revolutionary example was followed all over Europe; in the German, Magyar, Slavonic and

1848. The year of revolutions.

Italian areas of the Austrian dominion, and in various German principalities. The king of Sardinia, Charles Albert, set himself at the head of the nationalist movement in Italy; the alarmed king of the Sicilies granted constitutions to the two portions of his kingdom. The Austrians, at first apparently doomed to be expelled from North Italy, recovered themselves; before the end of 1849 the Austrian dominion was again to all appearance thoroughly re-established, and Ferdinand of Sicily was able to revoke his constitutions. Kossuth and other leaders of the Hungarian insurgents were driven to take refuge in Turkey; Palmerston sent a fleet to the Dardanelles to protect Turkey from being coerced by Russia and Austria into surrendering the fugitives. Palmerston's sympathies were entirely on the side of each and all of the nationalist movements. He had taken upon himself to warn sundry Italian potentates in 1847 that they would find themselves in trouble unless they set their houses in order—warnings which, however intelligent, were resented as acts of impertinent interference by those sovereigns. The foreign minister went his own way, ignoring the anxiety of his colleagues and the resentment of the queen, while the popular sympathies throughout the country were entirely with him. It was his doctrine that it was Britain's business to remain neutral, but at the same time to express her sympathies and give her advice, whether asked or unasked, with entire freedom. In 1849 there was a grand attack upon the foreign minister, both from the advocates of non-intervention, and from the extreme sympathisers with the revolutionists, who insisted that British intervention ought to be carried a great deal further. Palmerston's vindication of his policy was successful both in the House and in the country.

Palmerston's methods.

Then came an affair in which Palmerston asserted himself with even more than his ordinary aggressiveness, and with his usual assumption that it was unnecessary to pay much attention either to the queen or to his colleagues. King Otho in Greece had not justified his selection to wear the crown of that country. It was very badly governed; sundry British merchants and other subjects had grievances

1850. Don Pacifico.

against the government. Finally, the Greek government appropriated some land belonging to the historian Finlay, refusing the price which he demanded for it, and allowed a British subject from Gibraltar, Don Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew, to be mobbed, and damage to be done to his property, without making adequate compensation. Palmerston refused to leave these questions to be settled by the Greek law-courts, and a British squadron was sent to the Piræus to bring the Greek government to reason. In the course of the proceedings France was irritated by the refusal of French mediation. Again there was a grand attack upon Palmerston for his high-handed methods—the occasion upon which he delivered the great speech in which he declared that 'as in the ancient world the man who could say *Civis Romanus Sum* was secure against insult and injury, so every British subject should have a perfect confidence that the arm of England would be swift to protect him from any wrong or injustice.'

Palmerston's personal triumph was so emphatic that the queen's growing desire for his removal from the Foreign Office had to be held in check. An extremely complicated question arose between Denmark, Prussia, and Austria with relation to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. On this question the views of Palmerston were diametrically opposed to those of Prince Albert, who had an intimate understanding of German politics, and with whom the queen was, as always, in entire agreement. Palmerston took his own line, with the result that in August, six weeks after the great speech, the queen sent a memorandum to the foreign secretary. She required him before acting to inform her precisely what he intended to do; and when her sanction had been received, to abstain from arbitrarily changing or modifying the course of action laid down. Further he must, before acting, lay before her full information regarding discussions between himself and the ministers of foreign states, and she must receive the dispatches for her approval in sufficient time for her to master their contents before they were sent.

1850. The queen's memorandum, August.

Palmerston expressed polite regret, promised to amend his ways, and went on precisely as before. He was only with

difficulty prevented by his colleagues from personally receiving Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian insurgents, technically a rebel against the Austrian emperor, on his arrival in England. The climax was reached when Palmerston in December 1851 allowed his personal approval of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'État* to be conveyed to the French president at a moment when Normanby, the ambassador at Paris, had been instructed to maintain a strict neutrality between the French parties. Russell roused his courage to the sticking point, and delighted the queen by insisting on his retirement; which was followed, however, immediately by the downfall of the ministry.

1851. Dismissal of Palmerston, December.

II. India, 1827-1848

After the capture of Bhartpur in January 1826, British India enjoyed a period of respite from wars and of continuous administrative progress which lasted unbroken for thirteen years.

Then came another period during which war followed upon war, though with the single exception of the Maharajpur campaign at the end of 1843, all those wars were beyond the British frontier—in Afghanistan, in Sindh, in the Punjab, and in Burma. By a curious coincidence this also was a period of thirteen years, concluding with the end of the second Burmese war in 1852. Bhartpur was the concluding lesson that for a long time established among all the native courts, which at one season or another had come into collision with the British, the conviction that the British ascendency was too firmly established to be shaken.

In 1828 Lord Amherst was succeeded as governor-general by Lord William Bentinck, who had at one time been governor of Madras, had in the interval taken an active though not a leading part in public affairs at home, and was thoroughly imbued with the liberal ideas which were rapidly gaining ground in England. The moment had at last arrived when it was possible for the governor-general to devote himself

1828-35. Bentinck.

to administrative progress unhampered by aggression or threats of aggression on the part of native powers.

A few words, however, require to be said with regard to the native states. The Pindari war had finally broken up the Mahratta confederacy. Four of the five Mahratta principalities remained; but the overthrow of the Peshwa and the peshwaship, with the annexation of Baji Rao's dominions, had deprived the confederacy of any nominal head. The old turbulent chiefs were dead; the reigning princes at Indur and Baroda, at Gwalior and at Nagpur, acquiesced in the established order. The British had no reason to complain of the Nizam's government at Haidarabad. They had, on the other hand, much reason to complain of bad government in Oudh; but that appeared to be only a domestic concern of Oudh itself, and on the non-intervention principle the governor-general was content with threats and remonstrances which did not issue in active interference. In Mysore a pitch of disorder was reached which necessitated stronger measures, and the actual administration was taken over by the British with the entire acquiescence of the Mysore state. Incomparably the most powerful of the native princes at this period was Ranjit Singh, who had established himself at Lahore as the head of the Sikh confederacy, and had built up an extremely powerful army on the basis of the armed brotherhood of the Sikhs, the *khalsa*. But Ranjit was far too astute to be at all disposed to challenge a collision with the British.

The native states.

Beyond the mountains an Afghan king of the royal family, Kamran, reigned at Herat on the Persian border; but the greater part of Afghanistan was ruled by the Barakzai, Dost Mohammed, at Kabul, though he called himself only *Wazir*, the king's minister. Behind Afghanistan lay Persia; and the principle of non-intervention had allowed Persia to become the tool of Russia. In 1814 the imperial government had made an alliance with Persia and promised to defend her against Russian invasion. But at a later date there was a quarrel between Russia and Persia, Persia appealed for the promised aid, and the aid was refused on the ground that

Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Persia herself was the aggressor. So the Shah had made haste to agree with the enemy, and to seek Russian friendship since British friendship availed him so little. From 1826 onwards Persia, instead of being a barrier to Russian advance, was an instrument of the Petersburg government.

The British Raj.

It was a matter of the first necessity for India that the whole peninsula should be under the control of some paramount power strong enough to impose continuous peace; since in the absence of such a power the whole peninsula would continue to be, as it had been in the past, a theatre of ceaseless wars of aggression. This was the great end which had been achieved; the British power was able everywhere to enforce the *Pax Britannica*. In all the regions under its direct rule, a system had been established which at last ensured an absolutely incorruptible and impartial administration of justice. Yet it was an alien administration, in the nature of things never capable of grasping fully the point of view of the subjects over whom it ruled, though honestly striving its utmost to do so. The point had now been reached when it was time to seek for something more; not only to provide ordered peace, the condition of all progress, but to initiate progress on its own account; and this was to be done in part by abolishing or diminishing barbarous practices sanctioned by immemorial usage, partly by the introduction of positive improvements. In the former of these two fields marked success attended the efforts of Bentinck's government.

1829. Indian reforms: suttee.

There were two customs, the direct outcome of Hinduism, which Mohammedan governments had occasionally endeavoured to check: *sati* or *suttee* (to use the familiar spelling) and infanticide. The Hindu religion encouraged the wife when her husband died to immolate herself upon his funeral pyre. In its original idea this self-immolation, 'dedication,' was a voluntary act of high devotion; in practice it was habitually imposed upon entirely reluctant widows, who only chose it as a lesser evil than the misery of living on under the intolerable conditions suffered by those who refused the sacrifice. There was, in fact, no possible

means of ascertaining whether or no a widow was in any real sense of the term willing. In spite of much grave anxiety as to the effect on the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus, Bentinck in 1829 issued a law absolutely forbidding suttee in British territory, and making it homicide to take part in any such ceremony. The courage of the government was justified by the event. No disturbance attended the suppression of the practice; and native rulers also very soon followed in their own territories the example set in the British dominion.

Infanticide, as practised, meant the destruction of female infants. It had no sanction from the sacred books of the Hindus, but it was the product of the system which attached disgrace not only to all unmarried women but also to their parents. The marriage of a daughter involved, first, the difficulty of finding a husband of equivalent caste, and, secondly, of providing for the enormous expenses which custom imposed upon such occasions. On the other hand, infanticide was easy; it was not condemned by the community; it was all but impossible to prove that the death of an infant had not been due to natural causes. The frightful extent to which the custom prevailed is demonstrated by the fact that among sundry hill tribes the growing boys outnumbered the growing girls by six to one. It could not be suppressed merely by penalisation; penalties cease to deter when proofs of crime are certain not to be forthcoming. The remedy applied by the government was that of limiting the expenditure on weddings, and prohibiting the entertainment of vast crowds of beggars which custom enjoined on such occasions. With the removal of this prime motive to infanticide, the evil custom was gradually reduced to insignificant proportions.

Infanticide.

Thuggee was another portentous evil, the very existence of which had been unsuspected. The thugs were, in fact, a secret society of murderers whose victims as a rule simply disappeared. The frequency of such disappearances at last aroused suspicion; but to get evidence against the thugs was a matter of quite extraordinary difficulty; the populace believed that they were under Divine protection, and that ill-luck would

Thuggee.

descend upon any one who interfered with them. The suppression of the system was mainly the result of the indefatigable energy of Major Sleeman. Between 1829 and 1839 he succeeded in eradicating thuggee within the British dominion; and when the population at large discovered that the tutelary goddess of the thugs took no vengeance upon the government which smote them, the difficulty of obtaining evidence was so much reduced that thuggee presently disappeared altogether.

The labours of Robert Merttins Bird in the north-west provinces—those encircling Oudh—prepared the way for Thomason's Land Settlement in the next decade. The main field of material improvement was in the construction of canals for the purposes of irrigation. The reform, however, with which Bentinck's name is most generally associated is the introduction of Western methods of education. Hitherto there had been a small expenditure with this object in view, but the education had always been conducted on Oriental lines, based upon the Oriental classics. The new scheme, of which Macaulay was the most enthusiastic advocate, insisted on the infinitely superior merits of English literature and science, with which it was sought to imbue the receptive mind of the Hindu. The plan met with a measure of success; the Hindu mind absorbed the Western ideas set before it, but transmuted them in the process, adapting them to its own preconceptions, the inheritance of centuries—and the product was not exactly what had been anticipated.

Education.

In Bentinck's time also there was a professed abandonment of the doctrine laid down by Cornwallis and adhered to by every one of his successors, that only Europeans should be allowed to hold offices of responsibility within the British dominions. In actual practice little difference was made, because as a rule only Europeans could fulfil the conditions necessary for such appointments. Officially, however, the appointments were thrown open to natives who could fulfil the conditions equally with Europeans.

Admission of natives to administrative posts.

Bentinck retired in 1835, when the duties of governor-general

were discharged by the able Indian official, Sir Charles Metcalfe, until the arrival of Lord Auckland in 1836.

In 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession, the ascendency of Russia at the Persian court began to make itself felt. Russian envoys tried to gain the ear of Dost Mohammed at Kabul, and Persian troops advanced on Herat[1] to make good the Persian claim to the lordship of Afghanistan. The Shah of Persia was recognised by one half of the Mohammedans as at once the political and the religious head of Islam. The restoration of his ancient authority in Afghanistan was to be only the preliminary to a *jehad*, a religious war for the revival of the Moslem supremacy in India. It was anticipated in other quarters not that the Shah would conquer India, but that his invasion would reduce it to a state of chaos which would effectually destroy the British grip on the peninsula, and would give Russia her opportunity.

1837. Russia and Persia.

The Indian government took alarm. It failed entirely to form a correct appreciation of the Wazir at Kabul, who had every desire to remain on friendly terms with the British, and regarded the Russian overtures as traps to be judiciously avoided. The Persian scheme was foiled because Herat was brilliantly defended, mainly through the energy of a young British officer, Eldred Pottinger, who happened to arrive on the spot at the critical moment. The siege was raised in September 1838, ten months after its commencement, and the Persian army withdrew.

1837-8. Afghanistan: siege of Herat.

Meanwhile, however, Auckland was persuaded, not, as his wisest advisers urged, that it would be sound policy to give Dost Mohammed energetic support, but that he must be displaced in favour of an Amir who would be a British puppet. The puppet was found in the person of Shah Shuja, once lord of Kabul, from which he had been expelled in 1810. The plan was to reinstate Shah Shuja by means of British bayonets, his attempts to reinstate himself having invariably ended in ignominious defeat.

1839. Restoration of Shah Shuja.

[1] See Map IV.

In spite of the expressed disapproval of practically every one with Indian experience, Wellesley and Wellington, Bentinck and Metcalfe, Auckland persisted in his plan. Ranjit Singh, who did not care at all about the business, was to give his help, though he would not permit the British troops to pass through his territory. Early in 1839 Shah Shuja joined the British troops which had reached Kandahar by way of Sindh without actual fighting, and was duly proclaimed. Ghazni was captured. Dost Mohammed at Kabul could not persuade his followers to fight, and made his escape to the mountains of the Hindu Kush. In August Shah Shuja was in Kabul.

It was obvious that he could not stay there without British troops. A British garrison was placed in Kandahar, while five thousand men, mostly Hindustani sepoys, were cantoned at Kabul itself with Macnaughten and Burnes in political charge. The Afghan tribal chiefs were quieted by subsidies. In 1840 Dost Mohammed, having redeemed his credit by putting up a very gallant fight at the head of a few horsemen against a much larger body of troops, elected to surrender, and was placed under mild surveillance in British territory. For another year Macnaughten and Burnes imagined that all was going well. The subsidies to some of the chiefs were suspended.

1839-41. The British at Kabul.

Then in November 1841 came a sudden explosion. A riot broke out in Kabul; Burnes was murdered; the general in command of the troops in the cantonment sat still; the mob seized the treasury and the military stores. The riot developed into a general insurrection. Macnaughten found himself helpless owing to the almost incredible incompetence of the unfortunate general, and was obliged to submit to the terms dictated by Dost Mohammed's son Akbar Khan, the leader of the insurgents. The British were to retire from Kabul, Kandahar, Ghazni, and their frontier station at Jellalabad on the Peshawar road; but they were to leave hostages, while the Afghans were to speed them on their ignominious journey by supplying provisions and transports. Then Macnaughten himself was shot down while holding a con-

1841. The Kabul disaster, November-January.

ference with Akbar Khan. On 6th January 1842 the British, Europeans and sepoys, soldiers and civilians, women, children, and camp-followers, some fifteen thousand in all, began the march from Kabul. Some twoscore had the good fortune to be detained as hostages. The rest perished of privation, or were shot down by the Afghan tribesmen as they struggled through the passes in bitter winter weather. Only one survivor arrived at Jellalabad to tell the terrible tale.

Sale at Jellalabad, Nott at Kandahar, and Palmer at Ghazni refused to obey the orders they received from Kabul to withdraw their garrisons. Nott could not advance from Kandahar, but inflicted sharp reverses on masses of the insurgents in the neighbourhood. Ghazni surrendered; Sale held his post at Jellalabad, a very difficult task, with energy and skill, which deserved the success they won. In April he succeeded in compelling Akbar Khan to raise the siege. Meanwhile Auckland had been recalled and his place taken by Lord Ellenborough. A column was sent up by the Bolan Pass to join Nott at Kandahar, and another under Pollock forced its exceedingly difficult way through the Khaibar, and joined Sale. Shah Shuja had been assassinated a few days earlier. Then came from headquarters the startling orders to Pollock and Nott that they were to evacuate Afghanistan entirely, orders which they could not repudiate as they had repudiated those which had been sent to them by the general under *duresse* at Kabul. But they managed to make delays; and before they were ready to move they received amended instructions that the evacuation was to be effected *via* Kabul, which was very much as if hostile armies at Munich and Frankfort were instructed to evacuate Germany *via* Berlin. Kabul was accordingly captured, as well as Ghazni, before the evacuation. The Afghan insurgents were convinced of the futility of resistance; if British prestige was not restored, the ultimate invincibility of the British arms had been demonstrated.

Nott, Sale, and Pollock.

Still, it had been proved no less conclusively that the British occupation had been a disastrous blunder from the very beginning. There was nothing left to do but to retire, making

as much as possible of the final triumph. Unfortunately Ellenborough made too much of it; and his bombastic proclamation —in which he announced that the victorious British were bringing back to India among their spoils the gates of Somnath which had been carried off by Mahmud of Ghazni eight hundred years before—was more ridiculous than impressive. One entirely sensible step, however, was taken. The government woke up to the excellent qualities of Dost Mohammed, and restored him to the throne from which he ought never to have been removed. The Afghans knew the Dost for a valiant warrior with a strong hand, an iron will, and an exceedingly shrewd brain; the British having restored him found him an unfailingly loyal ally until the day of his death.

Dost Mohammed restored.

While this disastrous adventure was in progress, the British empire had been involved in another war, not indeed disastrous, but by no means glorious, and somewhat sordid, in the Farthest East. The Chinese empire always exerted itself to shut out all foreign intercourse; whereas the Europeans were no less resolved to force their commerce upon China, refusing to be shut out. The Indian government derived a considerable revenue from the opium traffic with China. The Chinese government, whether in order to protect Chinese opium-growers, or to deliver its subjects from the noxious drug, forbade the traffic. They were not without excuse; they had indeed grievances against British traders, which had increased considerably since the East India Company had been deprived of its monopoly in 1833, and the trade had been thrown open to all comers. But the manner in which the Chinese commissioner Lin endeavoured to enforce the exclusion in 1837 was more than high-handed. Friction became increasingly acute, and by the beginning of 1840 active hostilities were in progress. No interest attaches to the campaigning; but the war was brought to an end in 1842 by the Treaty of Nankin, which procured to the British the cession of Hong-Kong, an indemnity of £6,000,000, and the promised opening to general commerce of five 'treaty ports.' The news of the Nankin treaty and of Pollock's recapture of Kabul reached England simultaneously.

1839-42. The China war.

The basin of the Indus below the Punjab formed the territory of Sindh, ruled over by the Amirs who might be called a family of chiefs. Sindh in the past had been tributary to Kabul, though its allegiance was of the usual dubious character. Diplomatic relations had been opened with the Amirs as early as 1809; since 1830 considerable progress had been made in the way of arrangements for the development of commerce; and in 1839 James Outram was given the charge of British interests in Sindh and Baluchistan with the official title of Resident. The Amirs and their neighbour, the Khan of Kelat, had not been forward in giving the British facilities for marching through their territories in 1839, when Ranjit Singh had refused the passage through the Punjab. Still there was no excuse for any aggressive movement against them; there was no chance of their becoming dangerous. Outram had a genius for gaining the confidence of the more primitive chieftains and peoples in India, and under his influence the suspicions of the Amirs would soon have been transformed into a genuine friendliness. But in 1842 Ellenborough removed Outram and sent Sir Charles Napier to take his place.

1839. Sindh.

Napier was a brilliant soldier who had fought in the Peninsula; he was masterful, resourceful, and perfectly fearless; and he enjoyed the governor-general's confidence and a free hand. On his arrival in Sindh he saw his way to what he himself described as a very beneficent piece of rascality. Sindh would be much more comfortable under British government than under the Amirs, and would have no chance of giving trouble if trouble arose with Afghanistan or the Punjab. So by deliberately provocative methods the population at Haidarabad (on the Indus) was stirred up to make an attack on the British residency. This overt act gave Napier his excuse. By the victories of Miani and Daba (February 1843) in a brilliantly audacious campaign, he wrecked the power of the Amirs and proceeded to annex Sindh to British India. The achievement was notified by the famous pun, humorous but truthful—'*Peccavi*, I have Sindh.' For every other annexation really legitimate grounds could honestly be pleaded; Sindh

1843. Conquest of Sindh.

provides the sole instance in which the pretexts were palpably manufactured. The most plausible excuse is the bad one that the Afghan disaster and the loss of prestige consequent upon it required to be counterbalanced by some brilliant feat of arms. Still, though the annexation was a piece of rascality, it was also beneficial; the prosperity of Sindh advanced greatly under British rule.

The Punjab and Gwalior.

In spite of the actual vindication of the British arms by Nott and Pollock and by Napier's campaign in Sindh, infinite harm had been done by the Afghan affair. The condition of the Punjab had become extremely ominous. After Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 the succession was doubtful; by 1843 it was secured to a child, Dhulip Singh, who was supposed to be a son of Ranjit, but whose real paternity was extremely doubtful. The reins of government were grasped by the child's mother, Ranjit's widow, the Rani Jindan, 'the Messalina of the Punjab,' along with her paramour, Lal Singh; by no means to the contentment of the sirdars or chiefs—the Sikh barons, as they might be called. But the real power since Ranjit's death lay with the highly organised army, the khalsa, which, having never fought with the British, had learnt in a long series of wars beyond the Indus to believe itself invincible. If the army realised its power it was more than probable that it would challenge the British, now that it was no longer held back by the restraining grip of the great Maharaja. If there should be a fight between the Sikhs and the British, Gwalior was posted on the British flank, and at Gwalior was an army much more powerful than any other controlled by a native potentate outside the Punjab.

1843. Tara Baj and Maharajpur.

At the beginning of 1843 Jankoji Sindhia, the successor of Daulat Rao, died, leaving to succeed him only his exceedingly youthful widow Tara Baj, who was permitted by the British government as suzerain to adopt a boy as heir in accordance with Hindu practice. But Tara Baj was very clever and very energetic, and she proved anything but amenable. Ellenborough appointed a regent who was not to her liking, and there ensued a political conflict between

the faction of the regent and the faction of the rani. The army was won over by the rani's faction and the regent was driven out. This was a defiance of the suzerain too marked to be tolerated. Ellenborough brought troops up to Agra and informed the rani that a satisfactory and orderly government was to be established, the Gwalior army to be reduced, and the British contingent to be increased. The Gwalior army resolved to fight, and took up a strongly entrenched position at Maharajpur. On 29th December two British columns under Sir Hugh Gough and General Grey advanced into Gwalior territory; the main Gwalior army was shattered by Gough after a stoutly contested fight at Maharajpur, while Grey routed the second column at Puniar. No further resistance was possible. Lord Ellenborough appointed a Council of Regency to act till the young Maharaja came of age, under the direction of a British Resident. The army was reduced from forty thousand to nine thousand, with a British contingent—native soldiers under British officers—of ten thousand. Gwalior was at least put out of action in the coming struggle with the Sikhs. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Ellenborough was recalled. He had gone to India with a great reputation to remedy the blunders committed by his predecessor. The situation demanded a man clear-headed, resolute, and strong. Ellenborough's sensational methods were the most unsuitable and dangerous possible. His place was taken by Sir Henry Hardinge.

It was just at this time that the Rani Jindan captured the government of the Punjab. Her power was precarious, and, like Tara Baj at Gwalior, she realised that it depended upon securing the support of the army—or destroying it. The anarchy in the Punjab was watched with grave anxiety by Hardinge. For two years after his arrival in India he was preparing for an emergency while abstaining from any ostentatious massing of troops on the frontier. At the end of 1845 the storm burst. The rani had been encouraging the disposition of the khalsa to hurl itself against the British. If it should be beaten and broken to pieces, as was probable, the government would be relieved from an incubus. If it should be

1845. The Sikh invasion, December.

victorious, she would claim that it was she and her party who had given the impulse. In December 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej. On the day when the news of the Sikh invasion arrived the British troops were set in motion.

Mudki and Firozshah.

There was an advanced post at Firozpur on the Sutlej held by seven thousand British troops, which it was presumed would be the first objective of the Sikhs. On 18th December, about a week after the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej, the British column on its march to Firozpur, under the commander-in-chief Sir Hugh Gough accompanied by the governor-general, met and routed the advance force of the Sikhs at Mudki. There they were joined by a second column from Amballa. After a halt of two days, the advance was renewed. On 21st December the British found their advance blocked by the main Sikh army occupying an entrenched position at Firozshah. Littler at Firozpur had instructions to send a force to co-operate with the advancing army. Hardinge, a peninsula veteran, whose audacious initiative had perhaps saved the day at Albuera when he was only a subaltern, overruled the commander-in-chief's desire to rush the Sikh entrenchments. Defeat would have meant annihilation ; victory in the circumstances was anything but secure. Hardinge, whose authority permitted him to do so, took the command over Gough's head, awaited Littler's approach, and did not open the attack till four o'clock. In spite of desperate assaults, the entrenchments were not carried ; the night was passed in intense anxiety ; but when the troops advanced to the assault in the early morning it was found that the Sikh commander, Lal Singh, had evacuated the position and was in full retreat.

1846. Aliwal and Sobraon, January and February.

Firozshah was secured. Five weeks after Firozshah the Sikhs, who had not fallen back behind the Sutlej, suffered a sharp defeat at the hands of Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal (names which reappear in the South African war, because Sir Harry was subsequently governor at the Cape). The decisive victory was won at Sobraon on the Sutlej, where the Sikhs had taken up a position of immense strength with the river behind. The position was

stormed and carried at the point of the bayonet only after a desperate struggle. Firozshah and Sobraon between them cost the British more than five thousand casualties.

Sobraon concluded the war. The khalsa was broken up, not at all to the regret of the sirdars with whom the Treaty of Lahore was signed in March. The Punjab was not annexed, but Kashmir was separated from it and was set up as an independent state. The portion of territory called the Jalandar Doab was ceded. The Sikh artillery was nominally surrendered, though as a matter of fact the Sikhs succeeded in concealing a great portion of it. The khalsa was reduced to thirty thousand men. A Council of Regency was appointed, by the request of the sirdars themselves some British troops were left at Lahore to help in maintaining order, and Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident with almost unlimited administrative powers for a year. Then by the earnest request of the sirdars the period of British occupation was again extended, and the charge of the Trans-Indus districts was committed to the young frontier officers who drew their inspiration from their great chief. In January 1848 Hardinge left India, taking Lawrence with him, satisfied that although the breakdown of Lawrence's health had necessitated his withdrawal, order was established in the Punjab and the peace of India was secure. His successor in the governor-generalship was Lord Dalhousie, with whose administration it will be more convenient to deal in a later chapter.

1846-7. Henry Lawrence in the Punjab.

III. The Transatlantic Empire, 1830-1852

At the time when the Reform movement definitely triumphed in England, the leading figures of the popular movement in the Canadas were the French-Canadian Louis Papineau in the Quebec province, and William Mackenzie, an energetic journalist and an immigrant from Scotland, in the upper colony. In both the primary demand was that for an elected instead of a nominated legislative council. In Lower Canada this was an object which did

Canada: popular demands.

not find favour with the population of British descent, because it would have meant a complete French ascendency, which many persons democratically inclined in the abstract regarded with quite as much aversion as the bureaucratic domination. Papineau, however, an effective orator, who had long been the leader of the French party in the assembly, was immensely popular among the French Canadians, who formed the great majority of the population and entirely dominated the assembly.

In 1835, during Peel's brief tenure of office, a commission of inquiry was sent to Canada in order to investigate the grievances, with Lord Gosford as chief commissioner and governor-general. The commission reported against the scheme of an elective legislative council in Lower Canada. But the reinstated Melbourne cabinet, without introducing any reforms, intervened—perhaps as a step towards a union between the two provinces—to provide machinery whereby the legislatures of the two might take joint action in the adjustment of questions between them regarding trade and commerce. Anything in the nature of a union was destructive to Papineau's idea of a French ascendency. He raised the standard of revolution and declared for complete independence. There were a few outbreaks, but the insurrectionists were easily suppressed, Papineau himself making haste to escape over the United States border. The whole explosion was futile, having behind it only a most superficial hostility to the British dominion, while the loyalty to the British connection was deeply rooted. The better class of the French Canadians themselves gave no support to the revolutionary movement.

1837. Lower Canada: Papineau's rebellion.

In Upper Canada events followed a somewhat similar course. In 1835 a committee of grievances presented a quite reasonable report recommending the establishment of an elective second chamber, and urging that as in England the administration should be responsible to the chambers. Most unfortunately, Sir Francis Head was at this time appointed governor of Upper Canada. He was so entirely devoid of any sort of qualification for the office that he was popularly supposed to have been given the

Upper Canada: Governor Head.

appointment by mistake, another Francis Head having been intended. The governor indulged himself in a series of almost incredible indiscretions, which drove the assembly into formulating an address to the king and a memorial to the House of Commons, in effect denouncing Head as totally unfit for his office. He retorted by a dissolution and an appeal to the country on the hypothesis that the question at issue was separation from the empire. This misrepresentation of the facts had the immediate effect desired of giving the government a majority in the assembly. Very few of the reformers were otherwise than loyal to the British connection; but Mackenzie and some others were driven to desperation. Although Head resigned on receiving sensible instructions from home, and his resignation was accepted, very much to his own surprise, Mackenzie attempted to organise a revolution. At the moment the troops were called away from Upper Canada to suppress Papineau's insurrection in Lower Canada, Mackenzie succeeded in getting together some eight hundred men; but the loyalists promptly assembled a force which dispersed the insurgents in a fight which lasted a quarter of an hour—at the cost of one man killed and several wounded to the rebels, and no casualties at all among the loyalists. An unfortunate accompaniment of the insurrection was that the United States government failed to prevent lawless citizens on the western frontier from raiding Canadian territory, professedly as sympathisers with the rebels. The men who took part in such raids were very properly treated by the Canadians as filibusters.

1837. Mackenzie's insurrection.

The disturbances in Canada caused the Melbourne government to send out a special commission with Lord Durham as high commissioner and governor-in-chief. His commission did not give him an entirely free hand, though he acted as if it had done so. In England he had been one of the committee which prepared the great Reform Bill, and was the advocate generally of views which moderate Whigs regarded as dangerously advanced. Also he was a man of high temper, a keen brain, an independent spirit, and an immense capacity for quarrelling with his colleagues.

1838. Lord Durham in Canada.

The situation which he found in Canada was one which demanded the exercise of all his good qualities, but also of a tact with which, unhappily, he was not endowed. In Canada what he did was regarded with general approval; but he did it on his own responsibility, disregarding the limitations of his powers. Refusing to be guided by any party considerations, determined to do what was actually best for the country, he proclaimed a general amnesty, from which twenty-four individuals were excepted, including Papineau. Eight of these he ordered to be transported to Bermuda; the other sixteen, who had already escaped from the country, were forbidden to return to Canada on pain of death. The measure was wise enough, but it was *ultra vires*; his enemies in England were able to force the government in effect to disavow his action while endeavouring to conciliate the high commissioner by complimentary language.

Durham recalled.

Durham considered that he had been basely deserted, and resigned, issuing on his departure a proclamation defending his acts and implicitly denouncing the government which had betrayed him. On his withdrawal the administration was placed in the hands of Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaforth), the able soldier who had effected the suppression of Papineau's insurrection. Another ineffective insurrection broke out, which was easily suppressed.

Brief as had been the period of Lord Durham's administration, it was followed by a measure of the most far-reaching importance, based entirely on the recommendations put forward in his report on the situation in Canada. Lord Durham had at once grasped the fact that the division into Upper and Lower Canada intensified antagonism between French Canadians and British, encouraging a local provincial sentiment where the grand desideratum was a common national sentiment. The first necessity was the establishment of a union under a common legislature and a single governor; the second was to establish responsible government —a government, that is, in which the executive is responsible to, and is controlled by, the legislature. The Act of Reunion passed in 1840 established a single legislative

Lord Durham's report.

1840. Act of Reunion.

council and a single legislative assembly. In the assembly Upper and Lower Canada were each of them to have forty-two elected representatives. On the legislative council there were to be not less than twenty members appointed for life. The first governor-general was Lord Sydenham. The new constitution was accepted, not without opposition by the council and assembly of Upper Canada, but readily by the council of Lower Canada where the assembly had been suspended.

1840-7. Struggle for responsible government.

Actual responsible government did not immediately follow. Sydenham himself considered that if he as governor was to be responsible to the imperial government, his ministers could not be responsible to the Canadian legislature. But he realised that Canadian public opinion was too strong to be overridden, and he accepted resolutions adopted by the legislature declaring that the principal advisers of the governor must be men who enjoyed the confidence of the representatives of the people—in other words, that the ministers must be appointed with the approval of the majority in the elective assembly. Sydenham himself died in 1841, and his successor Sir Charles Bagot in 1843. Both of them acted practically upon the principles laid down in the resolutions. But Bagot was succeeded by Lord Metcalfe who had been a quite admirable administrator in India, but brought to Canada ideas not at all consonant with those of popular government. That is to say, he was of opinion that as supreme authority responsible to the imperial government he was bound to assert himself actively. He exercised patronage and made his appointments without consulting his responsible advisers. Nearly all the ministers resigned. Only a very weak ministry could be got together, a general election became necessary, and by the utmost efforts Metcalfe could only succeed in obtaining a very small majority in the chamber. The tension was extremely serious, and was not finally relieved until, a year after Metcalfe's death, Lord Elgin was sent out as governor in 1847 by the Russell ministry. Under the wise administration of Lord Elgin, who adopted what was in England the recognised constitutional principle of making all appointments under the advice of ministers

chosen from the party dominant in the elective chamber, responsible government was fully established. In the course of the same decade it was likewise established in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

1849. Repeal of Navigation Acts.

The final repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849 was a sequel to the development of Free Trade which was strongly opposed by the Protectionists in England, but won its way through the reluctant House of Lords mainly because it was an answer to the colonial, and especially the Canadian, demand. Free Trade deprived the colonies of preferential tariffs, but the Navigation Acts compelled them to pay the traffic charges of the British shippers whom the Acts protected from competition. It was even stated by Sir James Grahame that the Canadian wheat-growers were now so handicapped that Canadian secession would follow if the Navigation Acts were not repealed. It cannot be claimed generally, however, that any British ministries were sufficiently deferential to colonial opinion in matters which concerned the colonies. Even the Act of Reunion was dictated less by imperial sentiment than by a general feeling that the colonies ought not to be hindered from developing on the same lines as the mother country, although it was almost assumed that they would follow the example of the United States and cut themselves adrift as soon as they felt strong enough for independence.

1842. The Ashburton Treaty.

This feeling was perhaps responsible for the distinctly yielding attitude towards the United States adopted by Peel's ministry in respect of boundary disputes. The treaty of 1783 had left with undefined boundaries a considerable territory, which remained a debatable land between Maine and New Brunswick. This question was settled by the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, in a form very unduly favourable to Maine; that is to say, it is not possible to doubt that when the treaty of 1783 was made the negotiators on both sides intended to be included in New Brunswick a large area which by the Ashburton Treaty was conceded to Maine.

This treaty left unsettled another question of territory in the Far West. From the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains the

49th parallel of latitude was the agreed boundary between British and United States territory. Between the Rockies and the Pacific there was no treaty boundary. The Americans had purchased from Spain her territories on the west coast, and claimed that the territories so purchased extended to parallel 54·40; a great part of which region was claimed by the British on the ground of prior occupation. In 1845 a presidential election caused the United States government to threaten war unless the whole of its quite unreasonable claim were conceded. It proved, however, that this was to a large extent mere party bluster; and in 1846 a compromise was proposed by Lord Aberdeen, which was accepted. The boundary was continued to the coast along the 49th parallel, and on reaching the coast diverged southwards along the 'mid-channel,' separating Vancouver island from the mainland. Vancouver was thus included in British territory. An opportunity for further dispute was, however, left open, because the meaning of mid-channel was not defined: British and Americans claiming that different channels passing between the smaller islands were intended. The British had a strong case for claiming not only all that they got but a good deal more, and from the Canadian point of view the compromise was culpably inadequate; while in America it came generally to be regarded as a diplomatic victory for the United States. In Great Britain, however, the peaceful termination of the quarrel was generally regarded with satisfaction.

1845-6. The Oregon boundary.

In Jamaica, troubles which sprang from the abolition of slavery were productive of serious embarrassment to Melbourne's ministry. The Emancipation Act retained the negroes who had formerly been slaves as 'apprentices' for a term of years, at the end of which time they were to become completely free. When the slaves were the actual property of the owner it was in his interest to preserve them physically in tolerable condition. The apprentices were no longer his property, and it was his interest to extract the maximum of profit out of their services as long as they remained apprentices, regardless of the effect upon the slaves themselves.

1838. Jamaica.

The results were so obviously bad that public opinion in England compelled the government to pass an Act for the immediate emancipation of the apprentices. The measure was accepted under protest by the Jamaica assembly. The negroes became entirely free in the eye of the law (1st August 1838).

The crisis of 1839.

Acute friction arose at once; the former slave-owners, deprived of compulsory labour, made every effort to depress wages and to recoup themselves in any way they could at the expense of the negroes. On the top of the troubles came the announcement that another Act had been passed at Westminster to place the control of the prisons, which were notoriously managed in most iniquitous fashion, in the hands of the governor, regardless of the colonial parliament's rights of supervision. Consequently, when the assembly met there was an explosion against this violation of constitutional rights. By way of protest, the assembly refused to pass even the ordinary legislation for the renewal of laws which were usually passed for a year. The governor dissolved the assembly; when the new assembly met it was of precisely the same mind as the last; there was a complete deadlock, and the home government proposed to meet the situation by suspending the constitution of Jamaica for five years, during which the whole administration was to be in the hands of the governor and three commissioners. The narrow majority by which the second reading of the bill was carried brought about Melbourne's resignation and the Bedchamber Incident, followed by Melbourne's return to office and the passage of the bill in a modified shape, which left an open door for the assembly to avoid a suspension of the constitution. Lord Metcalfe, afterwards, as we have seen, governor of Canada, was sent out to Jamaica as governor; the problem he here had to solve was a different one, and under his able management the crisis was tided over.

IV. South Africa, 1830-1856

Between 1830 and 1856 the Boer population of South Africa —that is, the old Dutch with their admixture of Huguenots— expanded from the Cape Colony and occupied territories extending as far to the northward as the river Limpopo, in which they were ultimately permitted, not to say required, by the British authorities to establish the semi-independent South African Republic and Orange Free State. To render the story intelligible it is necessary to take a brief geographical survey,[1] including some explanations with regard to the various native races and peoples occupying the South African area. **The Boer expansion.**

First, then, we must take note of what is practically the northern boundary of our area, the river Zambesi, flowing approximately from west to east, and reaching the ocean at about the 18th latitude. Next comes the river Limpopo, also flowing from west to east, forming something like a semicircle with a northward curve. Starting from the Limpopo the mountain range of the Drakensberg runs from north to south leaving a broad margin of territory between the mountains and the eastern ocean. Where the south-westerly curve of the South African coast turns almost due west at Algoa Bay, the Fish River flows southward into the ocean, forming what was in 1830 the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony. From the southern end of the Drakensberg the Orange River flows from east to west into the Atlantic Ocean, forming the northern limit beyond which the Cape Colonists had not penetrated. Between the Limpopo and the Orange River the Vaal River flows westward from the Drakensberg, joining the Orange River about midway between the east and west coasts. Another of the landmarks which we shall find it convenient to observe is the river Tugela, flowing south-eastward from the Drakensberg to the sea between Delagoa Bay and Algoa Bay. The area north of the Orange River on the west of the confluence of the Vaal and the Orange falls outside our present purview. **Geography.**

[1] See Map VI.

The Anglo-Dutch Cape Colony may be treated as having for its northern and eastern boundaries the Orange River and the Fish River. Beyond this area of the colony the territories were occupied by tribes of Bantu negroes, known inclusively to the colonists by the name of Kaffirs, in various stages of primitive civilisation. Northwards beyond the Vaal and the Tugela two branches of one people, both of which developed a great military organisation, the Matabele and the Zulus, had established, or were establishing, their dominion, on the west and east respectively of the Drakensberg, over the comparatively, but only comparatively, peaceable Kaffirs who had previously been in occupation. Along the coast, at and beyond Delagoa Bay, north of the Zulus, was the Portuguese East African colony. Within the area of the Anglo-Dutch colony the primitive population was not negro but Hottentot, yellow-skinned and lank-haired, not black-skinned and woolly-haired. It may further be remarked that the negro slaves within the colony were not Kaffirs but had been imported from other parts of Africa. The always restless Kaffirs were made the more restless by the pressure upon them of the ultra-military Zulus and Matabele, somewhat as at the beginning of the Middle Ages the Teutonic hordes on the borders of the empire were pushed forward by the pressure of the still wilder and fiercer hordes behind them.

Native races.

Turning then to our story. Between 1820 and 1830 a number of British immigrants were introduced into the Cape Colony, who were for the most part planted in the hitherto little occupied districts towards the Fish River. The Dutch element still remained enormously preponderant. There had been hitherto no material interference with Dutch institutions and customs; but the government was in the hands of a British governor with a nominated council, and the influx of British immigrants encouraged the introduction of Anglicising measures, such as the adoption of English as the official language, and the development of a disposition, derived from the humanitarian ideas prevalent in England, to interfere between the Hottentots and the Dutch, who had hitherto been their absolute masters. And at the same time the governors

1830. Dutch and British.

found their hands tied by instructions from home, due to the influence of missionaries, which prohibited them from dealing with the Kaffirs as firmly as colonial opinion judged to be absolutely necessary. The upland farmers found themselves debarred by the action of the British government from taking the needful steps for their own protection from the Kaffirs.

The Kaffirs understood force, but regarded the milder methods of negotiation merely as indications of weakness. At the end of 1834 they broke over the Fish River and swept through the neighbouring districts, murdering and destroying. As a matter of course, a Kaffir war resulted, and the Kaffirs were beaten; but even then the Cape government was positively forbidden to take the measures which the governor, Sir Benjamin Durban, rightly regarded as absolutely necessary.

1834. The Kaffir war.

Also in 1834 the imperial government abolished slavery. Out of the £20,000,000 to be applied for the compensation of slave-owners, the amount allotted to South Africa was a good deal less than half the compensation which would have been due under the official valuation of the claims of the slave-owners. By 1836 the Boers or farmers began to realise what had happened. They were already irritated by the over-riding of their own immemorial usages by British customs, and by interference with what they regarded as their lawful authority over the natives. They were filled with a not unjustifiable indignation when they found themselves unable to take measures of self-defence against the Kaffirs because of the orders of the imperial government, and now they found themselves, as they considered, robbed by that same government. They resolved to betake themselves beyond the restricting reach of its arm, and so began the Greak Trek, the exodus from the House of Bondage to the Land of Promise. Numbers of Boer families gathered together their goods and chattels, flocks and herds, and emigrated out of British territory across the Orange River. Some of them settled in the territories between the Orange River and the Vaal. Others pushed on across the Vaal and were fallen upon by the hordes of the Matabele.

Emancipation of slaves.

1836. The Great Trek.

Nevertheless, few as they were, they defended their encampment, their 'laager,' so obstinately and so successfully, that the Matabele were beaten off with great slaughter, and presently retreated beyond the Limpopo, leaving the Transvaal between the Vaal and the Limpopo to the Boers and the less military Kaffirs.

While one enterprising group of Boers was ejecting the Matabele and their chief Moselikatse from the Transvaal, another group made its way eastwards over the Drakensberg in the region of the Tugela, and opened negotiations with Dingan the lord of the Zulus. Dingan had allowed the settlement of a few British at Port Natal, afterwards rechristened Durban. The tribes in the immediate neighbourhood were not themselves Zulus, but were in effect their subjects. Dingan received the Boer envoys politely, promised them the land they asked for, and when they were on the point of departure murdered them. Then without delay he dispatched his hosts to wipe the Boers out altogether. The nearest camp was rushed, and every one in it, man, woman, or child, was slaughtered, except one youth who succeeded in escaping and giving warning to the other camps. Each one formed laager, their wagons serving as an outwork, and when the Zulus came gave them so hot a reception that not one of the camps was carried. The Zulus retreated, and the Boers seized their opportunity to concentrate in a single camp. A counterstroke was attempted, supported by a force from Natal consisting of a score of British and fifteen hundred natives. But the Dutch and British forces advancing separately were both ambushed and narrowly escaped annihilation. At the end of the year the Boers had a new leader, Andries Pretorius. Under his command a Boer force advanced, having sent preliminary messages inviting peace through Zulus whom they had captured. Dingan responded by sending his army to wipe them out. The Boers' precautions secured them against surprise; the Zulus found four hundred and fifty of them in laager. A great battle was fought on 16th December (1838); at the end of it there were four Boers killed, but there were three thousand Zulu corpses on the field. The stream which passes by the scene of the battle was christened the

1837. Boers and Zulus.

1838. Dingan's Day, 16th December.

Blood River, and the Boers have ever since continued to celebrate the anniversary of Dingan's Day.

The Zulu chief's power was seriously shaken by the disaster; a year later it was finally broken by a rival chief, his half-brother Panda, who was disposed to seek the friendship of the white men By him Dingan was overthrown and slain. The Boers collected at Pietermaritzburg proclaimed a republic with sovereignty over the whole region, to which Panda bowed. The Boers might fairly claim that they had acquired a right to the territory by conquest—a right quite as sound as that of the Zulus who were themselves merely conquering invaders. But the Dutch organisation of government was primitive; also it was displeasing to the missionaries. So the British government intervened. The Boers, it was claimed, had not ceased to be British subjects merely because they had removed themselves from British territory; the territory they had conquered became *ipso facto* British. When the Volksraad continued in its arbitrary course, British troops were sent to assert the British sovereignty. The Boers defeated them; more troops were sent; the Boers could not defy the British power, and retired into the Transvaal; and three years later the government of Natal was organised as an annexe to the government of Cape Colony, with Durban as headquarters.

Dutch and British in Natal.

The British government at the Cape did not endeavour to extend efficient control over the Dutch, north of the Orange River. The plan, however, was tried of establishing native states along the Orange River itself. The Kaffir tribes called the Basutos, between the upper or eastern Orange River and the Caledon, were placed under the control of a very able Basuto chief named Moshesh; on the west of this area was formed the Griqua state under Adam Kok, the riquas being half-breeds of mixed Hottentot and European descent. The results were unsatisfactory. The numerous emigrants in the Griqua territory declined to recognise Adam Kok's authority. The other chiefs in the Basuto territory objected to having Moshesh set over them. The arrangement with the Griquas was modified; Adam Kok was granted an increased subsidy,

Basutos and Griquas.

while a portion of the territory was withdrawn from his control and placed under a British officer who took his instructions from Capetown. Moshesh was less amenable than Adam Kok, and declined to accept any satisfactory modification. Then the Kaffirs on the east of the Fish River were growing more troublesome than ever; and in 1846 there came another Kaffir war known as the seventh. This induced the home government (Russell's administration) to send out as governor Sir Harry Smith, the hero of the battle of Aliwal in the Punjab, who already had some experience of South Africa.

1848-52. Sir Harry Smith's governorship.

The Kaffirs had made submission, without any solid conviction that they had been beaten. Sir Harry proceeded to constitute on the east of the Fish River the dependent province of Kaffraria under a British commissioner, the chiefs being allowed generally to exercise their old authority under his supervision. The Kaffirs acquiesced cheerfully. Somewhat arbitrarily Adam Kok and his Griquas were relegated to a much diminished district, and the territory between the Vaal and the Orange Rivers, excluding Basutoland, was added to the British dominion by proclamation under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty, with Major Warden at the head of the government. Thereupon the Boer stalwarts revolted and drove Warden and the British officials back over the Orange River from Bloemfontein, the headquarters of the government. Sir Harry marched a force over the river and defeated the Boers under the command of Andries Pretorius at the battle of Boomplaats, after which the Boer irreconcilables joined their pioneer brethren on the other side of the Vaal. The farmers within the Orange River Sovereignty accepted the situation. Those beyond the Vaal were left severely alone by the British government.

1850-2. Another Kaffir war.

The Kaffirs, however, had merely been awaiting an opportunity when they accepted the arrangement of 1847. At the end of 1850 they broke out again, and maintained a long and exhausting struggle for a couple of years. The home government made it an unvarying practice to recall any governor under whose rule a war broke out; Sir Harry met with the usual fate, and his place was taken at the

beginning of 1852 by Sir George Cathcart. Shortly afterwards the Kaffirs grew tired of fighting and made their submission. The province of Kaffraria was reorganised, but the most important change, a decisive one, was the government's establishment of a strong body of European constabulary whose presence and activities sufficed to prevent the native chiefs from getting out of hand for many years to come.

Immediately after the outbreak of this war, the disturbances deliberately fostered by Moshesh in Basutoland caused Major Warden from the Orange River Sovereignty to intervene in arms with a force of something less than three hundred Europeans and something more than a thousand natives. The troops marched into a trap and suffered a serious defeat. Many of the farmers, who cared nothing about maintaining British authority, made a compact with Moshesh under which he engaged to leave them alone, and they engaged to stand neutral. The intervention of Pretorius from beyond the Vaal was then invited by the Boer friends of Moshesh, with the approval of Moshesh himself. Pretorius used his opportunity to inform Warden that he would abstain from intervention if the independence of the Boers beyond the Vaal were acknowledged. The British troops were fully engaged at the time with the Kaffir war; Sir Harry Smith, who was still governor, could not afford to have a Boer war on his hands as well; the independence of the Transvaal appeared to be a matter of indifference; and the result was the Sand River Convention (January 1852), which guaranteed independent control of its own affairs to the 'South African Republic' beyond the Vaal. The Kaffir war came to an end, troops were at Cathcart's disposal for the Basuto troubles, and Moshesh made haste to submit while he still enjoyed the honours of having defeated the British government without being defeated himself.

1851. The Basuto war.

1852. Sand River Convention, January.

To complete this portion of our narrative we must carry ourselves a little beyond the year 1852. The British government at this time was extremely reluctant to extend its colonial responsibilities, and was in fact suffering from an impulse towards

contraction. It not only acquiesced without reluctance in the independence of the South African Republic; in 1853 it emphasised its enthusiasm for colonial self-government by insisting upon the establishment of an elected legislature in the Cape Colony, which was accepted with a considerable reluctance by the colonists themselves who were content with the existing system; and finally in 1854 it pronounced that the Orange River Sovereignty should be left to take care of itself. Unlike the South African Republic the farmers in the Sovereignty were not at all anxious to be cut adrift; still the arrangement was carried out, and by the Convention of Bloemfontein in February 1854 the Orange River Sovereignty became the Orange Free State under a guarantee of independence. Two years afterwards Natal was constituted a colony separate from the Cape Colony.

1854. Independence of the Orange Free State.

V. Australasia to 1854

The colonisation of Australia began with the convict settlement of 1788, which, with another convict settlement in Tasmania, formed the first colony of New South Wales. In 1812 the island was constituted a separate but independent colony with a separate governor. The area of colonisation expanded from Sydney, the New South Wales capital, so named after the secretary of state when it was founded. Further north a new convict settlement was planted at Brisbane in 1826, in subordination to Sydney, free settlers being barred out of that region. In 1829 a separate colony of free settlers with no convict element was planted in West Australia with its nucleus at Perth and Fremantle. These were all the colonies which had come into existence in 1830. As a consequence of their original character as convict settlements, New South Wales and Tasmania were till 1823 under the rule of a military governor with virtually absolute powers. In that year, owing to the influx of free settlers, a modification was introduced, and the governor of New South Wales was given a small advisory council of nominees. His powers were also limited by the institution of a Supreme

1788-1830. Australia.

Court of Judicature which displayed a tendency to come into collision with the governor. In 1828 the constitution was amended by the removal of points of friction, and by the enlargement of the governor's council to fifteen members who gradually acquired a degree of control over the governor. The separation of Tasmania from New South Wales was completed.

In 1834 the colony of South Australia was founded, independent of New South Wales, and without any convicts, having as its nucleus Adelaide, so named after William IV.'s queen. In the same year a new district was occupied on the south of New South Wales; in 1837 the name of Melbourne, then prime minister, was given to its principal port in Port Phillip Bay. Settlers were attracted thither both from home and from New South Wales proper. It was known as the 'Port Phillip District,' and for the time was governed by officials from Sydney, though its prosperity soon encouraged it to demand recognition as a separate colony. It did not, however, obtain this recognition in full until 1851, when it became the colony of Victoria. Meanwhile, inland, behind the convict settlement at Brisbane—the 'Moreton Bay District'—a vast amount of territory was taken up by squatters, stock-breeders, who were in effect allowed to settle themselves upon the unclaimed land without any actual title, except that which was accorded to them by the common understanding that where a man settled himself he was to have elbow-room without being encroached upon by neighbours—elbow-room meaning some thousands of acres. In course of time this area also claimed separate recognition, when transportation ceased and Brisbane was no longer a convict settlement. Ultimately it was incorporated as the colony of Queensland, though this end was not actually achieved until 1859.

1834. South Australia.

Beginnings of Victoria.

Beginnings of Queensland.

From a quite early stage, miscellaneous Britons found their way to the great islands which constitute the modern Dominion of New Zealand and settled among the Maoris. These adventurers found no recognition from any British government until 1833, when a resident magistrate was sent out to do what he could in the way of preserving order—

Beginnings of New Zealand.

which was little enough. Then in 1839 a company was formed in England for the colonisation of New Zealand. The immediate result was that Governor Gipps of New South Wales was authorised to extend his jurisdiction over the islands, which were thereupon brought under the British flag as a dependency of New South Wales with a lieutenant-governor appointed by the government of that colony. Thus in 1840 there were the four distinct colonies of Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales; while New South Wales had also its three dependencies, the Port Phillip district, Moreton Bay district, and New Zealand across the sea.

Early colonial conditions.

For more than half a century after the formal annexation of Australia by Great Britain, the population was engaged almost entirely upon what are termed inclusively agricultural employments—tillage, sheep-farming, and cattle-breeding. For many years the amount of grain raised by tillage was insufficient for the sustenance of the population. It was at first believed that cattle could not be acclimatised; but wool-growing, which became the staple industry of New South Wales, was already making considerable progress before the end of the eighteenth century through the enterprise of John Macarthur, who has been called the 'Father of New South Wales.' At the time when machinery was revolutionising industry in England, nothing of the kind was introduced in Australia; for manufactured goods the population was entirely dependent upon imports. Real expansion began under Governor Macquarie (1809-23), who encouraged the exploration which opened up new regions and fostered agricultural development, assisted by grants of money from the home government. In Macquarie's view, the colony existed primarily to give a fresh start to the convicts under conditions which made self-respect possible; and he sought to check rather than to encourage the immigration of free settlers, which was nevertheless a real necessity. Before the end of his tenure of office the free settlers already considerably outnumbered the 'emancipists,' or convicts who had received their liberty.

According to the legal theory every acre of land in Australia was Crown property; the private individual could only acquire

a title by grant from the government. At first the system adopted was to make a free grant, or a grant with a small quit-rent of land up to three or four hundred acres, to any suitable person who asked for it, smaller grants being made to emancipists, the hypothesis being that the land was taken up for tillage; Macarthur in 1805 procured from the home government a grant of five thousand acres for his sheep-run. Such additional labour as was required, in a country where there was no labouring population, was provided by the convicts themselves, who were assigned to employers who for their part relieved the government of the cost of their maintenance. Then came the development of squatting, with the discovery of new areas available for stock-breeding. Without acquiring any title from the government, individuals went off up country, and as we have seen took up each man for himself a great area upon which new arrivals did not encroach. They took their chance of making their profit before the government should intervene, or of being left alone long enough to acquire a moral title which the government would in the end be bound to recognise.

The land question.

Naturally confusion arose. In 1824 the home government propounded an absurd scheme for dividing up the whole of New South Wales into counties, hundreds, and parishes, accompanied by an official valuation of the land. Large estates might then be bought from the government instead of estates conveyed under a quit-rent. The scheme was wholly impracticable; and in 1831 Lord Ripon (who as Lord Goderich had acted as prime minister for a few months after Canning's death) propounded a new scheme under which, if any one wanted a particular piece of land, it was to be put up to public auction with a reserve price of five shillings an acre. Then came the question, what was to be done about the squatters who objected strongly to paying five shillings an acre for their runs or to being ejected. The government of the colony appointed commissioners of Crown lands in 1833 to deal with intrusions upon Crown lands; but the commissioners found that they could do nothing, and in 1836 and 1839 the plan was established of what was in effect granting a licence to the squatter for

1830-40. The Crown, squatters, and land sales.

a small fee, relieving him from the legal penalties for the unauthorised use of Crown lands. The arrangement applied only to the established squatter. Otherwise the acquisition of land by government sales within the districts of Sydney, Moreton Bay, and Port Phillip continued in force; the reserve price being raised in 1842 to one pound an acre.

Transportation.

In 1840 the transportation of convicts to New South Wales ceased; a later attempt to revive it was so angrily resented that it came to nothing. Several years elapsed, however, before transportation ceased altogether; there were still parts of Australia where the shortage of free labour maintained the demand for convict labour. The complete disappearance of transportation accompanied the development of representative institutions with which the presence of a large number of convicts, perpetually reinforced, was incompatible.

1842. Constitution for New South Wales.

Representative government began with the constitution granted to New South Wales in 1842. The question had been brought home to the minds of the authorities in England by the events in Canada. Although full responsible government was not actually established in Canada until some years after the Act of Reunion, it was felt that in any colony which was sufficiently advanced and had a sufficiently numerous population, the methods of government ought to follow the British precedent. Accordingly in 1842 New South Wales was given a new legislative council of thirty-six members, twenty-four being elected, while twelve were nominees. Of the twelve nominees not more than six were to be government officials. There was a property qualification for the elected members and for the electors. The council had authority to initiate as well as to sanction any laws 'not repugnant to the laws of England,' the governor retaining power to veto measures of which he disapproved, or to refer them to the decision of the home government. The legislative council had control of finance except in respect of the land sales, the product of which did not form part of the revenue of the colony but belonged to the imperial revenue, though it was allotted by the imperial government to the benefit of the colony.

The next decade brought a revolution, hastened by the discovery of the Australian goldfields Rumours that gold was to be found were current for some years. Attention was attracted to the question, owing to the excitement created by the discovery of goldfields in California in 1848. In 1851 Edward Hargraves, who had tried his luck not very successfully in California, turned his experiences there to account, and detected the presence of gold on the banks of a stream, Summer Hill Creek, which flows into the Macquarie River in New South Wales. Government safeguarded its rights by proclaiming that no one might dig on Crown land without a licence obtainable for a small fee; to this was presently added the claim of a royalty of ten per cent. on all rock gold that might be raised. There came an extraordinary rush to the goldfields; everywhere men left their employments; gold-seekers began to swarm in from Europe, the more readily because steamship services had now begun. In every quarter of Australia settlements were swept bare of their men-folk who had hurried off to the diggings. The great rush worked itself out in course of time; but it had had the effect of bringing into the country a great new population of a different type. The country could no longer afford to be content with a supply of manufactured goods from Europe; the new population was to a great extent better fitted for manufacturing than agricultural employment, and the colonies began to take up the business of manufacturing for themselves.

1851. Discovery of goldfields.

The discovery of the goldfields coincided in point of time with the extension of 'representative government,' and its expansion into 'responsible government.' The Australia Act of 1850 placed South Australia, Tasmania, and Victoria on the same footing as New South Wales. Each of these colonies was given complete control over the customs revenues, only with the limitation that there were to be no differential duties and no duties upon goods imported for British troops. The system of self-government was carried to completion immediately afterwards. In view of the changed conditions brought about by the gold

1850. Representative government extended.

discoveries, the colonial office invited the four colonies to draw up constitutions for themselves and submit them for approval.

The constitutions of all four received the royal assent in 1854, though two were subjected to slight alterations at the hands of the imperial parliament. All of them adopted the 'two chamber' system with one assembly whose members were all elected, something in the way of a property qualification being required for the electors. In each case money bills were to originate in the assembly, and in all the upper chamber had the power of rejecting such bills, though Victoria expressly refused to it the power of amendment. New South Wales had a second chamber or legislative council, whose members were to be appointed for life by the governor and the executive council. In Victoria and Tasmania the legislative council was also to be elective but on a restricted franchise, with a substantial property qualification for membership. In South Australia there was a similarly restricted franchise, without the property qualification for membership. The ministers were to be responsible to the legislature, holding office only so long as they commanded the confidence of the legislature. The principle was implicit in the constitutions, but no more explicit than in the imperial parliament itself, where the system has become established as 'constitutional,' and breaches of it as 'unconstitutional,' without any enactment whatever.

1854. Responsible government.

The history of New Zealand follows a divergent course. The Australian natives and those of Tasmania were peoples in an extremely low state of civilisation, dwelling in unsettled tribal communities with ideas of organisation which only just deserve to be called rudimentary. The white man entering Australia and Tasmania met with nothing in the shape of systematic resistance from the aborigines. The Maoris of New Zealand were of a very different type; although cannibalism was one of their customs, their political organisation was of a comparatively advanced order. The ideas conveyed by such terms as 'law' and 'property' were familiar to them. Physically and intellectually they were at least on a level with the

New Zealand.

highest of the definitely barbaric races with whom British enterprise has come in contact.

The proclamation of the island as forming part of the British dominion in 1839 was followed in the beginning of 1840 by the arrival of a governor, Captain Hobson. No one thought of effecting a conquest by force of arms, which would have been extremely difficult and also utterly inexcusable. Hobson's aim was to effect the annexation by a friendly agreement, which was embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi, made with the chiefs of a group of confederated tribes in the north island. The chiefs and the tribes were guaranteed all their proprietary rights ; if any of them wished to part with their lands they must be offered first to the British government, which promised them full protection as British subjects. They in their turn yielded to the queen their 'sovereign' rights, evidently with a thoroughly intelligent understanding of what that meant. It was perfectly clear, on the one hand, that the proprietary rights were those of the tribe, not even the chiefs having any power of alienation, and, on the other hand, that no white man could purchase except from the British government. Unfortunately, however, the British settlers in the island imagined that the treaty was a mere formality which they were at liberty to ignore ; whereas there was no confusion in the mind of the Maoris as to the nature of the compact to which they had agreed.

1840. Treaty of Waitangi.

Before the end of the year, the home government formally separated New Zealand from New South Wales, made Hobson governor instead of lieutenant-governor, and provided him with a legislative council of six and an executive council of three who were also members of the legislative council. Within two years serious trouble arose. A group of settlers claimed to have purchased certain lands in the middle island. Their claim was denied by two Maori chiefs. While the claim was still the subject of inquiry, there was a collision between the Maoris and the settlers. There was no possibility of questioning that the aggressive action of the British was responsible. A score of the white men were killed ; but for the firm action of Shortland, the governor *ad interim*—

New Zealand a separate colony.

Hobson had died just before—there would probably have been a general Maori rising which would have meant the extermination of the whites. But the Maori chiefs and the governor were alike ready to take their stand by the law. Shortland recognised the justice of the Maori contention with regard to what had taken place, and repeated the undertaking that the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi were to be maintained. No British claims to land would be recognised as valid until they had been ratified after inquiry by the government. Shortland, however, was superseded by a new governor, in whose much less capable hands matters were already going far wrong when he was recalled and his place was taken by George Grey, who was soon to establish his reputation as one of the very greatest of British colonial administrators. He had already given a taste of his quality, as governor of South Australia, when he was transferred to New Zealand at the end of 1845.

Trouble in 1842.

He found the Maoris in the north island in a state of ferment over a variety of claims asserted by the white settlers which were in clear contravention of the Waitangi treaty. Already the Maoris were in arms against the whites. Grey again announced that the government would stand by the treaty, convinced a number of Maori chiefs of his honesty by displaying his own trust in them, and in conjunction with the friendly chiefs marched against those who remained in arms. The campaign was brief and decisive; it was followed immediately by a measure for the administration of justice, in accordance with Maori custom where Maoris were concerned, whereby the confidence of the natives was secured. Grey then proceeded to penalise heavily any further purchases of land from Maoris by whites.

1845. George Grey governor.

But for Grey's self-reliance and political audacity, the intervention of the home government would have counteracted his measures. The New Zealand Company in England, which was ultimately responsible for a good deal of the trouble, had the ear of the government. Two Acts were passed, one providing a constitution, and the other laying down a new and entirely unsuitable provision for dealing

Grey and the home government.

with the land. Grey, backed by the Bishop of New Zealand, the chief justice, and a strong body of colonial opinion, refused to put the Land Act in force, and the home government gave way. The new constitution was as impossible as the Land Act. Grey issued a proclamation, in accordance with the terms of the Act, and then treated it as a dead letter as far as the colony was concerned. But he pointed out the folly of the plan to the home authorities in such a convincing manner that the new constitution was promptly suspended and the working constitution reinstated.

1852. A constitution for New Zealand.

The home authorities, under the interested influence of the New Zealand Company, had blundered badly, though with the best intentions. They had learnt, however, at least to respect the governor, who received knighthood in spite of the extremely independent attitude he had adopted. As we have noted with regard to the whole series of colonies, opinion in England since 1840 had been running strongly in favour of developing representative institutions as much as possible. In Sir George's view it had now become possible in New Zealand, and in 1851 he sent home a dispatch, a draft of what he regarded as a constitution suited to the peculiar conditions of New Zealand. With some alterations the draft was adopted in the Constitution Act of 1852, passed by the imperial parliament. Under this scheme New Zealand was divided into six provincial districts, each of them having its own elected council and an elected superintendent, to deal with provincial affairs. The central government consisted of the governor, a legislative council whose members were to be nominated by him for life, and a house of representatives elected upon the same franchise as the provincial councils. Under the title of the General Assembly, the legislative council, with the house of representatives and the governor, were the equivalent of the sovereign authority in England, 'the king in parliament.' Its legislative control was complete, with only the limitation that the legislation must not be 'repugnant to the laws of England.' Grey's suggestion that the direction of certain specified matters, such as the land revenue and the protection of the Maoris,

should be reserved to the governor and his executive council, was set aside.

The provincial system was brought into full working order in 1853; at the close of the year Sir George left New Zealand, his great abilities being requisitioned in another sphere, and the completion of the new system was left to his successor, Colonel Wynyard. Thus in 1854 New Zealand and the four major Australian colonies were all beginning to enjoy 'responsible government,' as well as Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

1854. Responsible government established.

CHAPTER VI. MIDDLE VICTORIAN

I. The Aberdeen Ministry, 1852-1855

'England,' said Disraeli, 'does not love coalitions.' The phrase, like 'No taxation without representation,' has in the twentieth century been adopted as a catchword without regard to its original meaning. Representation, as it was understood by Chatham, Burke, and Franklin, did not involve possession of a parliamentary vote. To any statesman of the eighteenth century, it would have appeared merely ridiculous to pretend that no one ought to be called upon to pay taxes unless he or she enjoyed the franchise. The term 'coalition' has been similarly perverted. It meant a combination of diverse parties in a single administration, not the retention in office of one party by the support of another party or parties in the House of Commons. The second Melbourne ministry from 1835 was kept in office by the support of O'Connell and the Repealers; but though the Opposition denounced the Litchfield House Compact with fervour, they never dreamed of calling Melbourne's government a 'coalition.' Russell's government from 1846 to 1852 was maintained by the support of the Peelites; but the Peelites did not take office, and the government was not a coalition. But in 1852 the ministry was an actual 'coalition' of two hitherto distinct parties, the Peelites and the official Liberals, each of which was drawn upon in forming the cabinet.

The coalition, December 1852.

The one real precedent for a coalition had been that between Fox's Whigs and North's Tories in 1783. Other coalitions had been combinations not of parties, but of groups which had more or less sunk their differences in order that their chiefs might hold office together. But the essence of a coalition is

precisely that offices are shared between the leaders of recognised parties or groups which form the coalition; an arrangement fundamentally different from one in which two or more parties or groups unite to support a ministry in which all offices are held by members of one party.

The ministers.

To one group belonged Aberdeen, Newcastle (war and the colonies), Gladstone (chancellor of the exchequer), and Sir James Grahame; to the other, Russell, Palmerston, Granville, Clarendon, and Lansdowne. The coalition formed in December 1852 was exceedingly difficult to shape. There was no question that Aberdeen must be at its head, since every one except Russell himself was convinced that with Russell as leader it could not last; yet Russell was necessary. Palmerston could not go to the Foreign Office; yet he, too, was necessary. Palmerston cheerfully agreed to accept the Home Office. Russell wanted to lead in the House of Commons, and finally took the Foreign Office with the intention—which was carried out—that his place there should be taken by Lord Clarendon, and that he himself should remain in the cabinet without holding any specific office. Aberdeen himself would willingly have given place to Russell, but for the knowledge that if he did so the ministry was doomed to go to pieces.

1853. Gladstone's first budget.

A distinguishing feature of the first session was the triumph of the new chancellor of the exchequer, Gladstone, who had opened his thirty years' duel with Disraeli by his successful onslaught upon Disraeli's budget. On the hypothesis that the peace which had lasted for eight-and-thirty years would continue, he proposed to continue on the path laid down by Peel. The income tax was to be retained for seven years, first at sevenpence and ultimately at fivepence. The only change in its incidence was its extension to incomes over £100; hitherto it had applied only to those over £150. It was to be imposed upon Ireland as well as Great Britain, but in return the Irish famine debt of £4,500,000 was to be cancelled. Next, Gladstone extended the legacy duties. These had hitherto been confined to personal property, and did not apply to such property passing by settlement. It was now

to be applied to real as well as personal property, and to both whether passing by settlement or not. The surplus anticipated from these measures was to be utilised once more for he reduction of duties, which were entirely removed from one hundred and twenty-three articles still on the schedule, and lowered in as many more—the duty on tea being cut down by more than one half.

Parliament rose in August. When the session had opened, the political sky seemed clear ; when it closed there were already threatenings of a storm which was soon to burst in the East.

From 1829 to 1840 Russia had dominated the Porte. Then Palmerston by his successful operations[1] against Mehemet Ali had effectually prevented the Turkish empire from being converted into a Russian protectorate, and the establishment of Egypt as an independent power under French ascendency. In the minds of most Englishmen it had become established doctrine that the integrity of the Turkish empire must be maintained, because either the Russians at Constantinople or the French in Egypt would be a menace both to our Indian empire and to British naval ascendency in the Mediterranean. The Russian and the French ambitions were incompatible ; both had been scotched by Palmerston's action. But it would appear that in the mind of the Tsar Nicholas the total dissolution of the Turkish empire was merely a question of time, and he was disposed to come to terms with the British so that the two powers might arrange between them for that eventuality, striking a bargain in which the rest of Europe would be obliged to acquiesce. On a visit to England in 1844, when Peel was prime minister and Aberdeen was at the Foreign Office, Nicholas had dropped a hint. Nothing further had come of it, and the Tsar probably had no expectation of making progress while Palmerston was in control of foreign affairs.

The sick man of Turkey, 1840-50.

Between 1844, however, and 1852, matters had been moving, and in a fashion not to the Tsar's liking. British and French influence supported the sultan's refusal to surrender the Hun-

[1] See p. 206 *supra*.

garian refugees in 1849 in spite of Russian and Austrian pressure. Then the French republic, guided by the President Napoleon, came forward as the champion of the Latin Christians in Palestine in their outstanding controversy with the Greek Christians as to the charge of the Holy Places; whereas Russia had always championed the Greeks. At the end of 1852, Napoleon confirmed the effects of the *coup d'État* of the previous year, and having procured a favourable *plébiscite*, proclaimed himself Napoleon III., emperor of the French. Simultaneously the pacific Aberdeen, whom the Tsar regarded as personally friendly to himself, became prime minister in England, while the anti-Russian Palmerston was merely home secretary.

The quarrel of Greeks and Latins, 1850-52.

For the events which followed it is not easy to apportion responsibility between the Tsar and the French emperor. According to one view, Napoleon wanted to provoke war, provided he could get the backing of Britain, because military glory would secure his own power in France. According to another view, Nicholas meant to establish a decisive ascendency over Turkey, and reckoned that if Britain could not be brought to work with him by a bargain, she was at any-rate sure to stand neutral. It is possible that if the Aberdeen cabinet from the outset had been guided by Palmerston it might have been made emphatically clear to the Tsar that she would fight for the integrity of the Turkish empire, and Nicholas would not have pushed matters to extremities. But whether or no the revived activity of France in the East was the real irritant, the palpable aggression came from Russia.

Napoleon III. and Nicholas I.

At the beginning of 1853, the Tsar told the British ambassador at St. Petersburg that the Porte was 'a very sick man,' for whose immediate dissolution provision must be made. Russia and Britain ought to make the provision together. Russia could not permit any power but herself to occupy Constantinople. She would not permit a new Greek empire to take the place of the Ottoman empire. She would not permit the empire to be converted into a group of republics which would harbour all the re-

1853. Russian proposals to Britain, February.

volutionary leaders from the rest of Europe. So the plan she proposed was to establish principalities in the Balkans and on the Danube under Russian protection, while British interests should be secured by the annexation of Egypt, Cyprus, and Crete. The proposal was rejected. Britain did not want Turkish territory for herself, declined to regard any partition of the Turkish empire as a necessity, and would discuss no proposals to that end.

Meanwhile Nicholas sent as ambassador at Constantinople not a diplomatist but a soldier, Prince Menschikoff, with instructions to demand an immediate settlement, in a manner satisfactory to the Tsar, of the question of the Holy Places in Palestine, and a treaty practically conceding to the Tsar the protectorate over all the sultan's subjects who belonged to the Greek Church. On the other hand, the extremely able diplomatist, Stratford Canning, was sent back (as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) to Constantinople by the British government. Lord Stratford very promptly manœuvred Menschikoff into accepting separately a settlement of the question as to the Holy Places, and so reduced the point at issue to the Russian demand for a protectorate over the sultan's 'orthodox' subjects—a demand which ultimately no sovereign power could dream of conceding. The British ambassador encouraged the Porte to refuse that demand, and undoubtedly allowed the sultan to understand that if necessary Britain would back up his refusal in arms.

Menschikoff and Lord Stratford, March.

The claims were rejected, and the Russian ambassador withdrew from Constantinople on 22nd May. In June, Russian forces crossed the Pruth and occupied the Trans-Danube principalities as a 'material guarantee.' British and French fleets were sent to Besika Bay, so as to be prepared to defend Constantinople. But as yet no hostilities took place. Ostensibly the quarrel was one between Russia and Turkey, which it was in the interest of the other four great powers, Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, to bring to a peaceful termination. At the end of July their envoys assembled in conference at Vienna, and dispatched a note to the

The Russians cross the Pruth, June.

sultan and to the Tsar which was intended to be a basis of settlement. The Tsar accepted the note promptly, putting upon it his own interpretation, according to which it conceded all the Russian demands; which was not the intention. The Porte rejected the note, on the ground that it might bear the Russian interpretation, which Turkey could not accept. The powers thereupon dispatched an amended note, which embodied their original intention. Russia refused the amended note, claiming that the powers were bound to abide by the definite proposal to which they had committed themselves.

The Vienna note, July.

Still the Russian troops remained in the Danube principalities; they were not, as the Tsar announced, to be withdrawn until the French and British fleets retired from Besika Bay. Early in October, the Porte, encouraged by the British ambassador, demanded immediate evacuation without result, and at the end of the month Turkey declared war. The Tsar publicly declared that he would not take the offensive; but the Turks began active operations, and with this excuse the Russian fleet attacked and annihilated a Turkish squadron in the Bay of Sinope. Seeing that the Turks had already assumed the aggressive, the so-called 'Massacre of Sinope' was hardly a breach of the Tsar's declaration; but that was the light in which it presented itself to Western Europe. From that moment at least war was inevitable.

Turkey declares war, October.

Here, then, we may pause to examine the position. In a somewhat vague fashion it has come to be a generally accepted doctrine that the Crimean War was at best unnecessary, inasmuch as it might have been avoided; and at worst, that it was a huge blunder from the beginning. But the first question we have to answer is this: Was British statesmanship right in committing itself to the principle that the Turkish empire was to be preserved? The alternative was in effect to allow European Turkey, and as a corollary Asiatic Turkey, to become a Russian protectorate in one form or another. On the assumption that Russia was aiming at the creation of an Eastern empire which would sooner or later challenge the

Why did we fight?

British supremacy in India, British statesmanship was right; the British empire could not afford to allow Russia, by holding the gates of the Black Sea, to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean with her fleets, and to acquire effective control of all Western Asia. That was a view of Russian intentions which presented itself first to the younger Pitt and to Pitt's disciple George Canning. The progress of Russia in Central Asia, the obvious interpretation of her attitude in Persia and in Afghanistan, have been entirely convincing to very nearly every one concerned in the government of India, at least throughout the nineteenth century. If, then, that view was sound, the preservation of the Turkish empire, the exclusion of Russia from the Dardanelles, was an imperative necessity. For there was no possibility of setting up another independent power in the place of Turkey.

The Opposition view.

On the other side is the argument that Turkey's rule was an abomination which civilised Europe should have united to extirpate; that Nicholas was right in desiring the dissolution of Turkey; that he was as innocent of desire for aggrandisement as the British governors-general who annexed India piecemeal; that he wished to work in co-operation with Britain; that if Britain and Russia could only have trusted each other frankly, all would have been well. The hypothesis would certainly have been a dangerous one to act upon, possible only if entire mutual confidence had subsisted; and it may reasonably be claimed that Russia never at any time gave any reason to suppose that such abnormal confidence would be warranted.

Could war have been averted?

Whether war could have been averted without allowing Russia to dominate Turkey is another question. It is tolerably clear that the Tsar acted on the belief that, however much the Aberdeen government might protest, it would not actually go to war, and that he held to that assumption until he had gone so far that to draw back had become impossible. Assuming that in any case the British government must have resisted in arms the establishment of any Russian protectorate dominating Constantinople, it would hardly have brought war nearer to make the fact clear from

the outset. Faced with that certainty, it is possible that the Tsar would never have sent Menschikoff to Constantinople, or that a golden bridge might have been devised by which it would still have been possible for him to withdraw his extravagant claims. Possibly, too, a more skilful diplomacy might have brought Austria and Prussia so emphatically into line as to compel Russia to give way. But it is not easy to see how, by adopting a more complaisant attitude, the British government could have induced the Tsar to modify his demands, or how, if he did not modify his demands, war would have been avoided.

While the Eastern question was at this critical stage, Russell was bent upon pressing forward a new measure of parliamentary reform. There was a brief cabinet crisis in consequence. Palmerston resigned; Russell, however, consented to some modifications in his bill, and Palmerston was induced to return to his post. The public at large did not believe that the Reform Bill was the issue; they conceived that the close of the crisis meant the victory of the anti-Russian section of the cabinet, Palmerston, Lansdowne, and Newcastle, with whom Russell was presently joined. There is no question at all as to the trend of popular feeling. It was as vehemently anti-Russian as it had been anti-Spanish in 1739.

A cabinet crisis, December.

The public scoffed at the idea that the Tsar was actuated only by his honest desire to deliver the Christian subjects of the Porte from misrule. It had learnt to believe wholeheartedly, and it retained the belief for half a century, that Russia was the enemy of the British empire, that the protection of the Christians in Turkey was merely a hypocritical excuse for aggression, and that aggression must be held in check at all costs. Aberdeen, though he was intensely desirous of avoiding war, knew that unless a way of retreat were found for the Tsar war must come. The main difference between the two sections of the cabinet was that the Palmerstonian group, like Lord Stratford at Constantinople, was convinced that the time had come for delivering Turkey from the Russian menace; whereas the Aberdeen group would have been satisfied by the withdrawal

Public opinion.

of the Tsar's immediate claims. Aberdeen's hand was forced by Lord Stratford, Napoleon III., and the war party in the cabinet, because the great mass of public opinion was behind the war party.

The Tsar would not withdraw. The British and French fleets were ordered to the Black Sea at the instance of Napoleon, to persuade the Russian fleets to retire to Sevastopol. At the end of February, France and Britain demanded the evacuation of the Danubian principalities by Russia before the end of April. Nicholas refused to reply to the ultimatum. At the end of March, France and Britain issued formal declarations of war. At the beginning of April, French and British troops were landed at Gallipoli in the Dardanelles. On 12th April the formal treaty was signed between France, Britain, and Turkey.

1854. War declared, March.

The command of the British army was entrusted to Lord Raglan, an able soldier who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had served with distinction under Wellington in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; a selection made in part because he possessed qualities necessary to a commander who had not a free hand, but could only act in concert with our French allies, whose troops were led by Marshal St. Arnaud. A British fleet under Admiral Sir Charles Napier, a cousin of the conqueror of Sindh, was dispatched to the Baltic, where, however, it was found that the defences of Kronstadt were completely impregnable. At the outset, it appeared that the war would resolve itself into a campaign on the Danube. The Russians crossed that river and laid siege to Silistria in May. The allied forces were encamped at Varna, where soon afterwards they were attacked by cholera, while the Turks in Silistria offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders. At the beginning of June, Austria, supported by Prussia, added her demand for the evacuation of the principalities to that of the belligerents, and moved an army up to the frontier. The siege of Silistria was raised before the end of June, and by the first week in August the whole of the Russian troops had been withdrawn across the Pruth.

The opening stage.

The demands of the combined powers had now been conceded; but the belligerent allies were not satisfied. The war party in England had by this time become completely predominant, and they declined to leave Russia in a position where she could renew the attack upon Turkey whenever it might happen to suit her convenience. It was not sufficient merely to defer the Russian menace. The key to the position lay in the Crimea at Sevastopol, where a Russian fleet might be sheltered, capable at any moment of striking at Turkey. The idea of making Sevastopol the objective had presented itself both to Napoleon and to the British cabinet at the first outbreak of hostilities. To the Western nations the Crimea was unexplored territory; the military authorities had the vaguest idea of what a Crimean campaign would involve. But Raglan and St. Arnaud received instructions that they were to arrange for a campaign in the Crimea and the siege of Sevastopol unless they had definite information which convinced them that the scheme was impracticable. They had no definite information; Raglan in the circumstances felt bound to undertake the operation.

A Crimean campaign resolved on.

In the second week of September the French and British forces were landed in the Bay of Eupatoria, about thirty miles north of Sevastopol, the British numbering a little less and the French a little more than 25,000 men. The movement would have been made earlier but for difficulties of transport, which were enhanced by the cholera visitation. Even as matters stood, the French had been obliged to leave their cavalry behind.

The Crimea invaded, September.

The advance from Eupatoria began upon 19th September; on the 20th the troops found their way blocked at the river Alma by a Russian force 40,000 strong under Menschikoff. The French were on the allied right, the seaward side. It was intended that they should effect a turning movement, but a great part of them never came into action. The stress of the fighting fell upon the British. At the end of three hours the Russians were driven off the field. Raglan would have advanced at once, and there appears to be

Battle of the Alma, 20th September.

little doubt that if he had done so the defences of Sevastopol would have been carried. But he was overruled by the French marshal, a brave enough soldier, but rendered quite unfit for his position by the mortal disease of which he died a few days later. There was a three days' halt therefore. Then the allies advanced. Raglan was again anxious to make an immediate attack upon the northern fortifications; again St. Arnaud opposed his plan, and the allies marched round the fortress and took up their position on the south of it. For the third time Lord Raglan urged an assault. St. Arnaud was dying, the command of the force devolved upon Canrobert, and for the third time the French refused to adopt the bolder policy. The armies prepared for a siege.

Sevastopol besieged.

Since the battle of the Alma, Menschikoff had not interfered; he had withdrawn into the interior with the bulk of his troops. The allied forces were not sufficiently numerous to invest Sevastopol completely, and every day the fortifications were improved and strengthened by the energy and skill of the great engineer Todleben. The Russians took their ships' guns and the sailors into the garrison, and blocked the entrance to the harbour by sinking ships in it so that the British fleet under Admiral Lyons was rendered comparatively useless.

The position at Sevastopol.

From Eupatoria to Sevastopol the coastline runs nearly due north and south. The great harbour is an inlet running from west to east with the river Tchernaya flowing from south-east to north-west, into its eastern extremity. On the north side of the harbour, near its western extremity, was the outwork called the Star Fort; on the south side, also at the western extremity, lies Sevastopol itself. The coastline runs south-westwards to Cape Kherson, some twelve miles, and then turns sharply backward to the south-east passing Balaclava Bay about twenty-five miles off. The object of the allies was to draw a semicircle close round Sevastopol. The French took the left, having their sea communications at Kazatch Bay, close to Cape Kherson; the British took the right, with their sea communications at Balaclava. Menschikoff, as has already been remarked, had withdrawn eastward so as to

maintain a field army preserving communications with Sevastopol on one side and with the mainland on the other. The British occupying the right were consequently liable to be threatened at any time by an attack from Menschikoff, who might endeavour to cut their communication with Balaclava. On the right of the British line near the head of Sevastopol harbour was Mount Inkerman.

Since Sevastopol had not been carried by a *coup de main*—the idea with which the expedition had started—a regular siege was rendered necessary. Unfortunately, the army was not equipped for a prolonged siege in a hard winter, but that was the task which lay before it. Still, it was resolved to make a great effort to capture Sevastopol without a winter campaign, by a heavy bombardment followed by a grand assault. The bombardment opened on 17th October. But the French were put out of action by a great explosion within their own lines; and though the bombardment went on for a week it was evident almost from the outset that it would fail to attain its object.

A bombardment, 17th October.

On 25th October it was Menschikoff's turn. An attack was made on the south-east, with Balaclava as its objective. The Turkish troops guarding the communications were driven out of their position, and some guns were captured. The Russians pushed forward, till an immense mass of their cavalry was shattered and driven off the field by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Brigade. But the most famous incident of the day was the charge of the Light Brigade. An order came to Lord Lucan, who was in command of the cavalry, which he misunderstood. The result was that he ordered Lord Cardigan, with the Light Brigade of six hundred sabres, to make what he himself knew to be a perfectly useless charge through a deadly storm of fire upon a distant Russian battery. The six hundred rode 'into the valley of death,' captured the battery, and then the remnant of them rode back again. The Charge of the Light Brigade, like the fight of the three hundred Spartans at Thermopylæ, was, from a military point of view, a piece of pure folly, but as a display of disciplined valour it stands unsurpassed

Balaclava, 25th October.

in history. In the popular mind it quite eclipsed the magnificent work of the Heavy Brigade, which had in effect beaten off the attack upon Balaclava.

Eleven days later Menschikoff made another attempt, not upon Balaclava, but to dislodge the British from their lines. The battle of Inkerman was fought in a fog, in the early morning of 5th November. The Russians came in tremendous force. The nature of the attack was not at first understood, and owing to the mist the commanders never knew what their neighbours were doing. The battle resolved itself into a series of desperate struggles between groups of British soldiers and masses of Russians; and the British won. The Russian attack was decisively repulsed. The probability that an assault upon Sevastopol would be the signal for an attack by Menschikoff, which would place the besiegers between two fires, had always needed to be reckoned with. The Russian repulse at Inkerman seemed in Raglan's eyes to provide an excellent opportunity; since there would be no further immediate attack on Menschikoff's part. Again, however, Canrobert was not to be persuaded.

Inkerman, 5th November.

Eight days after the battle came a disaster more serious even than an unsuccessful engagement. On 14th November, a furious hurricane not only swept away the men's tents, but wrought infinite damage to the ships in the harbour at Balaclava. Quantities of the stores, which had been kept on board owing to the difficulties of storage, were destroyed, while on two of the ships which were lost were stocks of ammunition and supplies of winter clothing for the men. The losses were estimated at £2,000,000; but it was no mere question of pecuniary loss. The organisation at home had proved to be shockingly defective; a winter of frightful severity set in, and the troops in the trenches suffered terribly from lack of the food and clothing which never reached them. The transport arrangements were so hopelessly inadequate that even the supplies which reached Balaclava could not be carried up to the front.

A disastrous hurricane, 14th November.

Among the other troubles was the terrible inefficiency at the

army hospital base at Scutari. If the Crimean War had its heroes, it had also its heroines, in the noble band of women who, organised by Miss Florence Nightingale, devoted themselves to the care of the sick and wounded. Miss Nightingale arrived at the beginning of November; the beneficent effects of the revolution which she inaugurated were beyond all possibility of expression. But the revolution took time. The British public began to understand what British soldiers were suffering, and to attribute these sufferings to government mismanagement.

Miss Nightingale.

A demand for a committee of inquiry was carried on 29th January 1855, by a majority of more than two to one, Russell having already committed himself to the statement that the motion could not be resisted. The ministry resigned. The queen sent for Lord Derby; but he would only take office if Palmerston, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert would join him. Disraeli was magnanimous enough to withdraw his own claims both to the leadership of the House of Commons in favour of Palmerston, and to the chancellorship of the exchequer in favour of Gladstone. But neither Gladstone nor Herbert was willing to serve under Derby; Palmerston insisted that Clarendon should remain at the Foreign Office. Derby gave up the task, and the queen sent for Russell; but Russell's conduct was generally condemned by his late colleagues, and his attempt to form a ministry was a failure. Then the task was assigned to Palmerston, in whom the country certainly reposed confidence, and at the age of seventy-one he became for the first time prime minister.

1855. End of the Aberdeen ministry, January.

II. Palmerston's First Administration, 1855-1857

Of the coalition ministry Aberdeen, and the war minister Newcastle could clearly not join the new government. Of the rest, only Russell, who had resigned when the motion for a committee of inquiry was brought in, stood out of the cabinet, being appointed instead minister-plenipotentiary to the conference of powers about to be held at Vienna. Within three weeks, however, the

1855. Palmerston's ministry, February.

Peelites, Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Grahame, resigned. The final result of the committee of inquiry was one of those safe reports which generally exonerated individuals and attributed nearly all the mismanagement to the defects of the system. When the Peelites resigned, Russell rejoined the government as colonial secretary, an office which had already been separated from that of the ministry for war, which was now assigned to Lord Panmure. Russell's business, however, was with the conference.

While the soldiers through desperate winter weather were enduring untold hardships with incomparable fortitude, the diplomatists were at work; and at the end of December the powers had presented to Russia a note proposing: That the powers jointly, instead of Russia alone, should guarantee the rights of the sultan's subjects in the principalities; that the navigation of the Danube should be free; that Russia should no longer control the Black Sea; and that the powers jointly, not Russia alone, should obtain from the Turk guarantees for the religious liberty of his Christian subjects of whatever church. In February, the kingdom of Sardinia with a fine political audacity associated itself with France and Britain in the war, thereby securing to itself recognition as one of the powers having a right to a voice in the settlement of the Eastern question. On 2nd March Nicholas died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. A fortnight later the conference at Vienna was formally opened. The negotiations broke down over the Black Sea question. The Tsar rejected the proposal that the Black Sea should be neutralised, and that no ships of war should be allowed in it. The Austrian suggestion that the Russian warships should be limited in future to their actual strength at the time was actually approved by Russell, and would probably have been adopted but for the more uncompromising attitude of Palmerston and Napoleon. The emperor needed more laurels; Palmerston wanted to cripple Russia. Russell yielded to Palmerston, and the war went on: but Russell left the ministry.

Negotiations which failed.

Under Palmerston's energetic guidance the arrangements for the war, the provision of transports, supplies of every kind, both

at the front and at the hospital base, were amazingly improved. Before summer, the troops were as conspicuously well-found as they had before been ill-found. The allies met with some successes, capturing Kertsch at the entry of the Sea of Azov, a main base of the supplies for the Sevastopol garrison. On the other hand, the anniversary of Waterloo was marked by the disastrous if heroic failure of the French and British to capture the keys of Sevastopol, the Malakoff and the Redan. Immediately afterwards Raglan succumbed to cholera, the command devolving upon General Simpson.

In the Crimea.

In August, the Russian field army in the Crimea, commanded by Prince Gortschakoff, made its last attempt to relieve Sevastopol, but was completely repulsed at the battle of the Tchernaya, where the Italian troops of the king of Sardinia found and made splendid use of their one opportunity for distinguishing themselves. On 8th September the second British attack on the Redan was repulsed; but the French stormed the Malakoff and won it, though at the cost of 7500 casualties. That night the Russians blew up their magazines and evacuated Sevastopol, their retreat northward being opened. On the 9th the allies were in occupation of the great Russian arsenal, where the Russian fleet lay at the bottom of the harbour.

Fall of Sevastopol, 9th September.

Still the war was not finished. Russia gathered some comfort from the capture of Kars in Turkish Armenia, which under the direction of its British commander, Fenwick Williams, had offered a magnificent defence against enormous odds for more than six months.

Kars.

Napoleon III., however, was now satisfied. He could claim that Sevastopol had fallen as the result of a glorious feat of arms on the part of the French. He had nothing more to gain, and was ready for the war to come to an end. Palmerston, on the other hand, was prepared to go on fighting, with or without France and Sardinia (which had also achieved its object), until the conditions which he regarded as necessary had been secured; in spite of pressure both from Austria and from France, which aroused his

resentment. And he had the country with him. Russia gave way. In March 1856, the Treaty of Paris was signed by the five powers, Britain, Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia, together with Sardinia which had made good its right to recognition, and with Turkey which was formally admitted by the treaty to the European 'Concert.' The powers undertook collectively to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire. They accepted as a voluntary undertaking on the sultan's part his promises of administrative reforms for the benefit of his subjects, without distinction of race or creed; while they surrendered, severally and collectively, any right of interference in the internal administration of the Turkish empire. The navigation of the Danube was secured. Kars was restored to Turkey, and the Crimea to Russia. Russia gave up her separate powers of protection over Wallachia and Moldavia, but the powers collectively guaranteed the privileges of the municipalities, together with those of Servia. Finally, the Black Sea was neutralised; no warships and no arsenals, whether Turkish or Russian, were to be allowed on its waters or on its coast, and it was to be open to the commerce of all nations.

1856. Treaty of Paris, March.

To the Treaty of Paris was added the compact called the Declaration of Paris, modifying, in accordance with the practice which had actually been adopted during the war, the old British claims which had given rise to the Armed Neutralities. Thenceforth a neutral flag protected enemies' goods, except contraband of war; neutral merchandise, except contraband of war, was to be secure from capture, even when carried in enemies' ships; the principle that a blockade must be 'effective' was definitely recognised; and privateering was abolished.

The Declaration of Paris.

Palmerston won that for which Britain had fought. Russia could not dominate the Eastern Mediterranean with a fleet from the Black Sea; she could no longer use her powers of protection over the Trans-Danube provinces to coerce the Porte in her own interest. He had practically imposed upon the Concert of Europe the duty of preventing any one power

The fruits.

from controlling Constantinople, though it might be suggested that one of the effects was to cause Russia to concentrate her expansive energies upon Asia. On the other hand, he had definitely committed Europe to the preservation of the Ottoman rule, and enabled the Turk to reckon with perfect security that, so far as intervention from any European powers was concerned, she could go on ruling as badly as she chose; since no single power could coerce him on its own individual responsibility, while mutual jealousy and distrust provided a tolerably strong guarantee against the effectiveness of collective intervention.

Home affairs.

The war had entirely distracted attention from domestic politics. Russell's Reform Bill, which had brought about the cabinet crisis at the beginning of the war, had been shelved when it became too obvious that in face of the struggle in the East problems of domestic legislation could not be adequately dealt with. One valuable addition was made to the Statute Book with the passage in 1855 of the Limited Liability Act. Hitherto any one who invested money in a trading company rendered himself personally liable for the whole of the company's debts in case of its failure. Under the Act which was now passed, investment with a limited company involved personal liability only up to the amount actually invested.

The Wensleydale peerage.

Interest, however, attaches to what may be called a constitutional episode at the beginning of 1856. The House of Lords is the final Court of Appeal. Custom had evolved the practical rule that when the House of Lords sat as a Court of Appeal only the law lords should take part in the proceedings. That custom had been definitely confirmed on the occasion of the appeal against the condemnation of O'Connell: But the result was that at the end of 1855 there were only two law lords who could be counted upon to take part in such proceedings. To remedy this inconvenience, it was proposed to raise Judge Parke to the peerage. He had no children, and was unlikely to have any. The patent of his peerage, instead of being drawn in the usual form, conveyed it to him only for his own life. Had the matter been quietly passed over, a precedent would have been created which

would have enabled the Crown to grant peerages for life, and by the adoption of that practice the whole constitution of the House of Lords as a hereditary assembly might within no very long time have undergone a complete change. But no such patent had been issued certainly for four hundred years. The Lords promptly declared that the new Lord Wensleydale could not sit or vote in the House, because he had been made a peer in an irregular manner. The thing was legal, but it was certainly 'unconstitutional.' The government thereupon proposed to sanction by Act of Parliament the creation of life peerages, but they were defeated and were reduced to the simple alternative of bestowing Baron Parke's peerage upon him in the ordinary manner.

Apart from this, however, interest continued to centre in external affairs. At the end of the year there began a brief war with Persia, which belongs rather to the history of Indian affairs. The Tsar was given an opportunity of putting Britain and France technically in the wrong by their attempt at intervention to check the iniquitous misgovernment of the Bourbon king of the Sicilies—a proceeding which stultified the recent treaty, which rested upon the doctrine that individual powers had no business to interfere with the internal administration of their neighbours. The Tsar had at least as good a right to intervene on his own account for the protection of the sultan's Christian subjects from misgovernment as France or Britain to interfere for the protection of the subjects of the king of the Sicilies. The British had to withdraw and leave King Ferdinand to his own devices: for which in due time his son paid the penalty.

Persia.

Naples.

If Palmerston was popular in the country, his majorities in the House of Commons were not to be relied on. Occasion arose in the Farthest East, whereby his position was put to the test.

By the Treaty of Nankin, China had undertaken to open five treaty ports to European commerce. One of these, Canton, never had been opened, the government excusing itself on the ground that it could not promise security to Europeans in that city. In 1856, the supreme British authority at Hong-

China.

Kong was Sir John Bowring, officially entitled the 'chief superintendent of trade.' At Canton there was a British consul, whose name later became familiar when he was known as Sir Harry Parkes. The admiral in command of the Chinese squadron was Sir Michael Seymour. The name of the Chinese governor of Canton was Yeh. On 8th October 1856, there was a small vessel lying off Canton named the *Arrow*. She was Chinese built, her owners and her crew were Chinese. Thirteen months before, she had received a register as a British ship, valid for only twelve months; her Chinese owner being resident in Hong-Kong. The register, therefore, had expired. She was boarded by the Chinese authorities, and on the ground that one member of the crew was supposed to be a pirate, the whole twelve of the ship's company were taken off as prisoners. It was claimed, however, though evidence on the point was conflicting, that the *Arrow* was flying the British flag at the time. That was the one and only ground upon which it was possible to contend that the British authorities had any sort of excuse for intervention. Parkes, however, on the assumption that the *Arrow* was a British ship, demanded from Yeh that the captives should be handed over to the British authorities. Yeh declined. Parkes wrote to Bowring. Bowring took the line that an insult had been offered to the British flag, and that the technical excuse that the *Arrow's* British register had expired could not be pleaded by the Chinese, because the Chinese authorities could not have been aware of the fact. Therefore he demanded from Yeh the release of the prisoners, and an apology within forty-eight hours. Yeh declined; the *Arrow*, as a matter of fact, was not, he said, a British ship, and could not be converted into one merely by the process of hoisting the British flag.

The 'Arrow' incident, October.

Bowring replied by summoning Admiral Seymour to attack the Canton forts. Sir Michael captured them. Yeh thereupon released the men, but still refused to apologise. Bowring thereupon fell back on the demand for admission to Canton, in accordance with the Treaty of Nankin. Up to this point it is sufficiently obvious that Yeh was in the

Canton attacked.

right and Bowring was in the wrong; but at this stage, when the admiral, under Bowring's instructions, set about enforcing the demand for admission by throwing shells into Canton, Yeh spoilt his case by issuing orders for the destruction of British shipping, and offering a reward for British heads. The British squadron acted as if China and Britain were at war; and the Chinese massacred a number of Europeans and burnt the European factories.

These things were going on through November and December; they were brought before parliament in February. Palmerston was resolved to back Bowring. Derby and old Lord Lyndhurst in the Upper House, Cobden, Russell, and Gladstone in the Commons, denounced the conduct of the British authorities. Palmerston was defiant. The attack on the government was defeated in the Lords, but in the Commons the hostile motion was carried by a majority of sixteen. Palmerston appealed to the country. The country had not perhaps examined the merits of the case with any great care; but the popular minister had carried it with him in the Crimean War, and the public at large looked upon him as the trusted champion of British prestige. In that capacity the Peelites, represented by Aberdeen, had failed, and the Conservatives, led by Derby, conspicuously failed when Derby evaded the task of forming an administration upon Aberdeen's resignation. When the ministry met the new House of Commons on 30th April, Palmerston had an overwhelming majority at his back. His triumph was complete.

1857. Palmerston appeals to the country, March.

Ten days later, the sepoys at Mirat had mutinied and marched upon Delhi.

III. India under Dalhousie, 1848-1856

Our narrative of Indian events broke off with the year 1848, when Lord Hardinge left the great dominion to the charge of his successor, the earl (afterwards marquess) of Dalhousie. By common consent, Dalhousie is regarded as the greatest of all the rulers whom Great Britain has given to

Dalhousie.

India. It was during his reign that the territorial expansion of the British dominion was virtually completed. It was he who inaugurated the railway and telegraph systems which changed India as they had changed Europe. He excelled all his predecessors in the development of public works, and he made his personality felt in every quarter of the peninsula as emphatically as Wellesley himself. He was only thirty-five when he took up the task—younger than any previous governor-general, three years younger than Wellesley; he compressed into the eight years of his rule the work of a lifetime; the strain shattered his health, and he died when he was only forty-seven. The ten years which followed his arrival at Calcutta formed the most momentous decade in the history of India.

Hardinge left the country in the happy conviction that no more fighting would be needed. He had felt himself free to make a large reduction in the sepoy army, though he was careful to reorganise the arrangements so that the quantity of troops in the north-west was in fact considerably increased. Events proved, however, that his anticipations were entirely wrong. A month after his departure, and three months after Dalhousie's arrival, a new flame had been kindled in the Punjab.

1848. India, February.

The trouble began at Multan. The Punjab was not under British government but under Sikh government, temporarily directed by the British at the desire of the sirdars themselves. British officers were in charge of outlying districts beyond the Indus, where the tribesmen had been brought into subjection to the Sikh dominion, but were themselves for the most part not Sikhs at all but Mussulman hillmen. The sirdars had accepted the situation created by the war, because they hated the rani and her favourites and feared the khalsa, and because there was no one among them to take Ranjit Singh's place; and yet they resented the palpable fact that a British ascendency had been created. But the khalsa was still more resentful. It did not believe that it had been beaten in a square fight; it attributed its defeat to treachery on the part of its leaders. Both the sirdars and the soldiery

State of the Punjab.

were to some extent reconciled for a time, owing to the magnetic personality of Henry Lawrence ; but now Lawrence was gone.

Mulraj, the governor of Multan, tendered his resignation to the government at Lahore. His resignation was allowed, and two British officers, Vans Agnew and Anderson, went to Multan to take charge until a new governor should be appointed. The troops in Multan declared that they would have none but Mulraj for governor, murdered Agnew and Anderson, and proclaimed that they were in revolt against the British dominion. Yet the government which they defied was not a British but a Sikh government. Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore took the strictly correct course. It was the business of the Sikh government, not of the British, to suppress the revolt. If British troops marched on Multan, that would be in effect an assumption that the government was in the hands of the British—that they had usurped authority ; and the rebels would be warranted in declaring that they were not rebels, but patriots, fighting for freedom from a foreign yoke.

The Multan outbreak.

Meanwhile, however, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, a young officer who was in charge of the Derajat beyond the Indus, where he won the devotion of the tribesmen, who did not love the Sikhs, acted on his own responsibility. Before the murder of the British officers, the news had reached him that they were in danger, and he took the bold step of marching at once to the rescue at the head of his Pathan levies. On 18th June he inflicted a sharp defeat upon the rebels at Kiniri, repeated his success at Saddusan a fortnight later, drove the rebels into Multan, and early in July joined hands with Sher Singh, the commander of the official Sikh forces, who had come down to suppress the rebellion on behalf of the official Sikh government. The united forces sat down before Multan ; but no one knew from day to day whether the Sikh troops and Sher Singh would or would not go over to the rebels. Lord Gough, the British commander-in-chief, in agreement with Dalhousie, objected entirely to the dispatch of small columns to act in the Punjab. If a force entered the Punjab it must be one capable of crushing resistance ; small columns would only

Herbert Edwardes, June.

have the effect of raising the Sikhs *en masse*, and the columns themselves would probably be annihilated. He made his preparations therefore for an invasion in force, if it should become necessary; but since Currie at Lahore determined to send a flying column to support Edwardes and the government troops at Multan, under the command of General Whish, Gough ordered up a column from Bombay to strengthen the small British force.

The decisive moment came in September when Sher Singh and his Sikhs went over to Mulraj, thus putting the immediate capture of Multan out of the question, proclaimed war against the British, summoned all old members of the khalsa to their aid, and set about making the insurrection a general one. Whish and Edwardes remained before Multan, but could undertake no active operations until the arrival of the Bombay column in December.

Sher Singh revolts, September.

Meanwhile Sher Singh's revolt was decisive. 'If the Sikhs want war,' said Dalhousie, 'they shall have it with a vengeance.'

In November, Gough entered the Punjab with the army of invasion. Sher Singh had collected his forces beyond the river Chenab, Lahore and the eastern portion of the Punjab being sufficiently dominated by the British to be secure, although it had now become absurd to think of using Sikhs for the suppression of the rebellion, transformed as it was, actually though not technically, into a national uprising. At the beginning of December, the passage of the Chenab was forced at Sadulapur after a sharp skirmish in the river bed at Ramnagar in which the 14th Light Dragoons suffered severely. Sher Singh fell back to a very strong position at Rassul on the Jhelam.

Invasion of the Punjab, November.

Gough wished to await the fall of Multan and a junction with the troops from that quarter before attempting to carry the campaign to a decisive finish. But Multan did not fall immediately on the arrival of the Bombay column, and under very strong political pressure Gough began his advance on 12th January, having with him some fourteen thousand men. The Sikh insurgents had captured Attock and Peshawar on the north-west frontier, and

1849. Chillianwalla, 13th January.

it was feared that delay would enable Sher Singh to collect an overwhelming army. On the 13th the advancing force found the Sikhs drawn up behind entrenchments between Chillianwalla and Rassul. Gough would have deferred his attack to the next day, but the Sikhs, advancing through the jungle, which concealed their movements, opened fire, and so began the sanguinary engagement of Chillianwalla. By sheer hard fighting the Sikhs were driven off the field, but there had been more than one critical moment during the battle when the issue had been extremely doubtful. As at Firozshah the fight had begun late in the afternoon, and the falling darkness made it impossible to press a very hardly-won victory which was in fact little more than a drawn battle in which the British had suffered very severely; though Gough held the field, the Sikhs were able to fall back upon their impregnable lines at Rassul. Chillianwalla in fact appeared in the light of a defeat, not a victory.

It was resolved that the gallant but hot-headed old general, whose methods at Firozshah and Sobraon had been severely censured by military critics, should give place to Sir Charles Napier; but before the change could be effected Gough had retrieved his reputation. He hung on to his position, refusing to be drawn into another fight until he should be joined by the troops and guns from Multan, which was stormed on 22nd January. On 14th February he learnt that Sher Singh had evacuated his lines, and was executing a flank march on Gujerat. Gough fell back in a parallel movement, was joined on 20th February by the Multan column, and on the 21st fought the decisive battle of Gujerat. The Sikh army was shattered to pieces, and its dispersion was completed by a well-executed pursuit. The khalsa knew now that it had been soundly beaten in a straight fight, and the Sikhs accepted the inevitable.

Gujerat, 21st February.

There was no more doubt in the mind of any one except Henry Lawrence that the Punjab must be annexed. Lawrence, who had just returned, still believed that it was possible to organise a competent native government; but it is quite certain that no man except himself was capable of organising a strong Sikh government; probably it

The Punjab annexed, March.

would have been beyond even his unique powers. Annexation was resolved upon, and the Sikhs acquiesced sombrely enough. The young maharaja was pensioned off. Lawrence, who understood the Punjab better than any living man, desired to conciliate the sirdars, to trust them, and to give them all the authority possible as the natural leaders of the Sikhs. Dalhousie wished to reduce their influence to a minimum, and his views were endorsed by Henry Lawrence's brother John. It was quite certain that Henry Lawrence must be put in charge of the new province. It was more than difficult to compel him to act upon lines which he regarded as fundamentally wrong, while Dalhousie was the last man to submit his own judgment to that of any subordinate, however able. The plan the governor-general adopted was to put the governorship into commission under a board of three, the two Lawrences and a legal member, Henry being president. The brothers were in strong disagreement, and the government became a series of compromises which had a painful effect on the relations between Henry and John, but served the purpose of pacification; and when this was accomplished it was of less consequence that it was no longer possible to make the Lawrences act together. John, whose views agreed with the governor-general's, was left as chief commissioner, and Henry was transferred to Rajputana, very much to the advantage of the Rajput princes. A consequence of the Sikh war was that Dost Mohammed at Kabul, who had held aloof from the conflict, became thoroughly satisfied that the British ascendency was not to be shaken, and made a treaty in 1855, confirmed in 1857, which proved of no little service in the troubles to come.

The annexation of the Punjab was proclaimed on 30th March 1849. Three years later a British force was on its way to Rangoon. The Burmese monarch during the last five-and-twenty years had continued to be persistently offensive in his treatment of the British. Repeated complaints came from the mercantile community. In 1851 Dalhousie's patience was nearly exhausted. A warship was sent to Rangoon to demand attention to the British

1852. Annexation of Pegu.

complaints and reasonable compensation. The treatment meted out to the British officers was so preposterously insolent that Dalhousie found himself with no choice but to send an ultimatum to Ava, repeating the demands previously made, and claiming a further indemnity of £100,000. The ultimatum was ignored. In April 1852 troops were dispatched to Rangoon, and on the 14th the city was captured. A provisional government was at once set up. The folly of a summer campaign had been proved by the last Burmese war, so further advance was delayed till October. The capture of Prome and Pegu in the next few weeks was sufficient. Military operations ceased; there was no treaty with Burma; the whole province of Pegu was simply annexed by proclamation, and was taken under British administration, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants who had already learnt to envy the prosperity of the previously annexed provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim.

These two annexations by conquest, the Punjab and Pegu, ended the era of expansion. Dalhousie, however, shared with Wellesley the belief that whenever native territory could be legitimately brought under direct British administration, it was in the interest of natives and Europeans alike that it should be done; and there were two ways in which it might be done. Persistent and flagrant misrule would warrant the intervention of the paramount power and the deposition of a dynasty. It would then be open to the paramount power either to institute a new dynasty or itself to take possession. The second method was by escheat or lapse. If a ruler died without heirs, it remained at the option of the suzerain to nominate an heir or to take possession. Hindu law permitted any one who had no heirs of his body to adopt a son, who inherited precisely as if he had been the adoptive father's actual offspring. But the Mogul emperors had always claimed that such adoptions were invalid, as far as concerned the inheritance of political functions, unless sanctioned expressly by the imperial authority; which sanction was a matter entirely of grace, not of right. It had been the British custom to sanction such adoptions, which were frequently

Dalhousie's principle of annexation.

Adoption.

necessary for the continuity of a dynasty; in the case, for instance, of the Sindhias at Gwalior, the great Mahdoji himself had been an adopted son, and so also had every single Sindhia since his day.

The alternatives.

There were always three alternatives: preservation of a native state as an independent, that is a self-governing, vassal; intervention to control administration where government was palpably bad; and annexation. Every British governor-general had regularly rejected the second of these alternatives; but with the exception of Wellesley, all had acted on the assumption that only extreme necessity made annexation a preferable alternative to the preservation of the native government. Dalhousie's theory was that wherever there was legitimate ground for annexation, annexation was the right course to follow. There was no departure from the law, no promulgation of a new law; the change of policy meant merely that the recognised right of annexation should be enforced instead of being waived. There was no doubt at all that annexation invariably increased the prosperity of the mass of the population; but always it was also destructive to the power and influence if not the wealth of the great landowners whose position in some parts of the country was analogous to that of a feudal baronage, and in others, especially in Rajputana and among the Rajputs of the Ganges basin, to that of the chieftains of Highland clans. Also every reigning dynasty was extremely anxious to perpetuate itself, and viewed with the utmost alarm any tendency on the part of the supreme government to set aside the practice of adoption. There is no doubt that Dalhousie's departure from the ordinary practice did much to create unrest and potential disloyalty, in spite of the beneficent effects of British administration.

Annexations of Nagpur, Sattara, and Jhansi.

A series of opportunities for annexation by lapse occurred, of which the governor-general took advantage. Most conspicuous was that of Nagpur, where the raja died, leaving no heir, either natural or adopted. Here there was clearly no obligation to search for an heir, and no strong reason for abstaining from annexation. But in two other cases, Sattara and Jhansi, the

position was different. The raja of Sattara had been repeatedly refused permission to adopt a son. Nevertheless, he did adopt one before his death in 1848. Dalhousie refused to recognise the adoption and annexed Sattara; which it may be remembered was the Mahratta principality reserved to the house of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta power, when Hastings annexed the peshwa's dominion in 1819 after the Pindari war. The case of Jhansi was similar. In 1853, on the raja's death, the heir who had been adopted without sanction was set aside, to the extreme indignation of the rani, the late raja's widow.

Taken individually, none of these three cases would probably have greatly disturbed native sentiment. Taken collectively, they appeared to point to a definite policy of gradual absorption. The feeling of anxiety was strengthened by similar treatment of some small principalities which were unimportant in themselves, and also by the Nizam's cession of the district of Berar, for the liquidation of debts to the company incurred in connection with the Haidarabad contingent.

Uneasiness created.

Last came the annexation of Oudh, and for this it cannot be said that Dalhousie was responsible. The maladministration of Oudh had been persistent. The king had had repeated warnings which produced no practical result. After Dalhousie's arrival two successive Residents, Sleeman and Outram, both reported on the condition of affairs in Oudh in terms of very strong condemnation. The dynasty would have fallen long before but for British support; on the other hand, it had been consistently and unfailingly loyal to the British raj for three-quarters of a century and more. This, however, did not alter the fact that a continuation of the existing order of things could not be permitted. Two alternatives, therefore, remained; recognition of the king in form, accompanied by direct control of his administration—or annexation. The former course was actually favoured by Lord Dalhousie; but when the question was referred to the authorities in England they decided in favour of annexation, without qualification. Oudh was one of the two great Mussulman principalities still

Annexation of Oudh.

remaining in India; and the deposition of its dynasty—the king declined to abdicate—was undoubtedly a shock to the whole Mohammedan community. The annexation was carried out in February 1856.

It has already been noted that Dalhousie introduced railways; although no great amount of construction was actually achieved in his time, he laid out the grand scheme of railway unification, and thousands of miles were brought under survey for that purpose. It was unfortunate that in 1856 just enough had been done to excite superstitious alarms in the minds of the native population, while enough had not been done to render railways of any practical service for the conveyance of troops or supplies when the mutiny broke out in 1857. The telegraph, on the other hand, was advanced enough to prove of notable service. There was much progress in road-building and canal construction for purposes of irrigation under the Department of Public Works which Dalhousie created; and a complete system of education, State-aided and under State control, leading from local native schools up to universities, was established.

Public works.

In one respect, however, the period of Dalhousie's rule developed a serious danger. The annexations involved a large increase in the numbers of the native troops. The great reduction effected by Lord Hardinge after the first Sikh war or Sutlej campaign was nearly, though not quite, cancelled by the increases under Dalhousie; and the difference was very much more than made up by additional regiments raised in the Punjab itself; the increase above referred to and Hardinge's reduction having both been effected by diminutions or increases in the strength of the several regiments, not by disbanding existing regiments or raising new ones. But while the native army was enlarged, the European regiments in India were actually reduced by the withdrawal of troops for the Crimea which were never replaced. No blame lies at Dalhousie's door in the matter; it was in defiance of his urgent representations that the home government abstained from making up and substantially enlarging the European military establishment in

The army.

India. But Dalhousie's policy necessitated the increase in the native army, and involved the concentration of the best troops in the Punjab; with the practical result that when the Mutiny broke out there were only five regiments of white soldiers in the whole region between Delhi and Patna.

IV. India: the Great Revolt, 1856-1858

Dalhousie, utterly worn out by the tremendous strain of his ceaseless activity, left India in 1856. His place as governor-general was taken by Lord Canning, George Canning's younger son, who when appointed was a member of the ministry. The task of the new ruler was in certain respects made the more difficult by his predecessor's great qualities. Dalhousie was an autocrat who went his own extremely masterful way, holding the control of every department of State in his own hands. The men who are capable of doing so are rare. The effect of such concentration of power, the general direction by a single brain of a single co-ordinated scheme in all its details, is to produce, while it lasts, the strongest possible form of government. But it is always apt to involve the danger that the work of the autocrat is carried out by subordinates very efficient as subordinates, who learn to take their directions from headquarters, but prove to be by no means equally efficient when the initiative is forced upon them. Canning, arriving in India, was necessarily to a very great extent at the outset in the hands of the officials, whom Dalhousie had trained to obedience. John Lawrence was absorbed in the Punjab, Henry Lawrence and Dalhousie had been antipathetic, and Henry's influence at headquarters was all the more at a discount because of the differences between himself and his brother. Outram, who should have been in charge of the difficult task of establishing the new régime in Oudh, was compelled by his health to go home on leave, and the officials who took his place, though actuated by the best intentions, were lacking in real grasp of the situation. Canning himself was a man of great powers, sound judgment, keen sym-

Dalhousie and Canning.

pathy, and immense moral courage; but not like Dalhousie, a born man of action, of rapid intuitions and swift decisions.

1856-7. The Persian war.

Before the end of the year, the unfortunate disproportion between white troops and sepoys, already intensified by the withdrawal to the Crimea of regiments which had not been replaced, was made worse by the Persian war. Persia in the eyes of Indian statesmen, as well as of Palmerston, was Russia's cat's-paw. In 1856, the Shah found an excuse for marching upon Herat and seizing it, Dost Mohammed of Kabul having just extended his own dominion to Kandahar. The seizure was a breach of a compact entered into with the British in 1853, by which the Shah engaged not to attack Herat unless it were attacked by a foreign army—which could only mean by Dost Mohammed. The pretence that the Dost's seizure of Kandahar was an attack upon Herat was absurd. The Shah's measure was palpably one of aggression against the Amir of Kabul. The governor-general took the only possible step in declaring war upon Persia in November. Dost Mohammed behaved with complete loyalty. Troops were dispatched forthwith to the Persian Gulf, which were soon followed by Outram with a larger force and with Havelock as his second-in-command. The campaign was brief; early in March peace was made, the Shah withdrawing his troops from Herat, and pledging himself to make no more claims to sovereignty in Afghanistan, and to abstain from any interference with that country. But the Persian war had at a critical moment withdrawn from India a substantial proportion out of the already reduced numbers of the European troops.

Apparent quietude.

At the beginning of 1857, almost every one in authority in India was satisfied that all was well. There was no native power from which any danger was to be apprehended. The government was strong; everywhere within its own dominions it was bestowing upon the populations the inestimable gift of even-handed justice, caring for the peasantry as they had never been cared for before. It had stamped out disorder and established an unprecedented security. Its roads, its railways, its canals, by increasing facilities of com-

munication and developing irrigation, were preparing the way for material progress. But the authorities were blind to the unrest beneath the surface.

The classes which most definitely gained by the British rule were inarticulate, ignorant, powerless. They did not understand the benefits which the government was thrusting upon them. They forgot the evils from which they had been delivered, and they resented reforms introduced at the expense of immemorial customs; moreover, they were panic-stricken by superstitious alarms, engendered by railways and the telegraph, which seemed to be works of black magic. On the other hand, the most energetic proportion of the population, who in the old days had thriven upon war and robbery, were sternly held under by the law. The Mussulmans who had once dominated the peninsula had been forced to yield to the conquerors from Europe. The same fate had befallen the Mahrattas, who did not forget that the ascendency had once seemed almost within their own grasp. All the Hindu princes had been shaken by Dalhousie's attitude on the adoption question. What we have called the feudal aristocracy was disturbed by the government's disregard of clan sentiment and feudal sentiment; though happily in Rajputana confidence was to a great extent restored by the sympathetic tact, first of Henry Lawrence, and then of the third brother, George. In Oudh, too, Henry Lawrence, transferred from Rajputana, succeeded to a great extent in allaying the irritation caused by the well-intentioned but injudicious proceedings of the government in the period immediately following the annexation.

Latent unrest.

The instrument by which the British had conquered India was in the main the sepoy army, and chiefly the army of Bengal, where the soldiery were nearly all Hindus of high caste, Rajputs or Brahmans, or else Mussulmans. Where dominion has been acquired by the sword, the army is apt to believe that it is master of the situation. As long as the sepoys were loyal to the British raj, there was little to be feared. But outside the army, as we have seen, were plenty of actively disloyal elements, and these were acting upon the army itself.

The sepoys.

Plotters saw their opportunity in the reduction of the white regiments. The high caste Hindu soldiery took fresh alarm over the General Service Enlistment Act of 1856, itself an outcome of the Burmese war. There was a difficulty in raising troops for the new province, and the order was issued that all recruits in the future would be liable for service anywhere, although upper caste Hindus would suffer loss of caste by crossing the 'Black Water.' The sepoy saw here an insidious design for compelling him to turn Christian, or his sons if not himself, since in general the soldiers' sons followed the fathers' profession.

Besides all these sources of perturbation, the native mind was easily moved by the resuscitation of an ancient prophecy that the British raj, which had come into being at Plassey, was doomed to end when it had lasted a hundred years—and Plassey had been won in 1757.

Matters were brought to a head by the cartridge incident. A new rifle, the Enfield, was adopted for service. On loading the soldier had to bite off the tip of his cartridge. Grease was employed in the manufacture of the cartridges, and the story got abroad among the soldiery that the grease was prepared from the fat of pigs and cows. To the Moslem the pig is unclean; to the Hindu the cow is sacred. Here was proof of an intended outrage upon the faith of Moslem and Hindu alike. The story was so far true that the government had not taken adequate precautions to prevent the use of the obnoxious elements. The cartridges were not issued; the sepoys were told that when they were issued there would be no contaminating matter in them; but the harm had been done, and the sepoys refused to believe. In March and April there were mutinies in regiments in Lower Bengal at Barrackpur and Murshidabad: the soldiers would not use the cartridges. The regiments were disbanded.

The greased cartridges.

Then came a mutiny in a regiment at Mirat, a great military station in the Delhi district; the mutineers were placed under arrest. British officers everywhere were under the firm conviction that whatever any one else might do, their own regiments were thoroughly loyal.

The mutiny at Mirat, 10th May.

Disillusion was close at hand. On 10th May, all the sepoy regiments at Mirat rose, massacred every white man or woman they could get at, the white regiments remaining inactive, released their comrades, and marched upon Delhi, the residence of the old puppet Mogul. The population there rose; the Europeans were massacred. A telegraph operator stuck to his post long enough to get a message through to the Punjab before he was murdered. A heroic band of less than a dozen men held the arsenal for some time against the insurgents, and then blew it up, and with it some two thousand of the enemy. But Delhi was in the hands of the sepoys; the emergency for which Moslem plotters had been working had arrived, and they proceeded to proclaim the restoration of the Mogul empire.

Character of the revolt.

The revolt was not an organised rebellion of India against the British dominion. Moslem conspirators had sedulously organised disaffection, intending to turn it to account for the re-establishment of Mussulman supremacy. The Mussulman supremacy was hardly more to the taste of Hindu princes than that of the British. There were Hindu chiefs who were playing for their own hand, like Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last peshwa, who regarded himself as being specially aggrieved because the government had refused to continue to him the huge pension which it had bestowed upon Baji Rao. Moslem plotters and Hindu plotters had different objects in view, and each expected to turn to their own account a general revolt of the army, which should wipe out the British raj. But because the revolt was not really organised, there was no simultaneous rising; the mutinies occurred sporadically in the course of several weeks, over the whole district from Delhi to Patna. The dispossessed begum of Oudh and the dispossessed rani of Jhansi threw themselves vigorously into the struggle; but no other native princes followed their example. Sindhia and his minister Dinkar Rao at Gwalior, the Nizam and his minister Salar Jang at Haidarabad—the two greatest potentates—remained resolutely loyal. The Nizam was even able to hold his army in check, though in course of time the Gwalior contingent mutinied in defiance of the maharaja, and took the law

into its own hands. In the Punjab, some disaffected regiments were disarmed, but it was some time before John Lawrence felt that any troops could be spared from that province. South of the Nerbudda there were no risings at all; while in Rajputana and Sirhind the princes would make no movement against the British. It was perhaps fortunate that the Mogul party had shown its hand, and by so doing ensured the quiescence of the Hindu chiefs.

Perhaps if the mutiny at Mirat had been delayed, there might have been more organisation about the rising. As it was, the
May. real series of mutinies did not begin till the last week of the month. In the meanwhile the disarmament of the Hindustani regiments in the Punjab had been effected; the Sikhs and the irregular levies of Pathan hillmen detested the Hindustani sepoy; and the fact went far to account for the loyalty displayed by the Sikh detachments wherever they were to be found. The white troops at Mirat and Amballa united to march upon Delhi. Henry Lawrence at Lucknow prepared the Residency for a siege. Agra was safe. During the first
June. fortnight of June, very nearly every sepoy regiment between Delhi and Benares mutinied, usually but not always murdered its officers, and then marched either to join the main body at Delhi, or Nana Sahib, who attacked the small station of Cawnpore on the Ganges, or the force which was gathering in the north of Oudh to attack Lucknow. The important point of Allahabad was secured by Brasyer and Neill with some Sikhs and white troops.

On 8th June, Nana Sahib was before Cawnpore. On 12th June, the British from Amballa and Mirat had seized the ridge in front of Delhi and began the siege. On 14th June, the Gwalior contingent mutinied, though Sindhia succeeded in conveying most of the British, but not all, in safety to Agra. The Gwalior troops, however, did not as yet march either upon Delhi or Oudh, though they moved up to Kalpi, which commanded the passage of the Jumna. In Jhansi the British were massacred.

On 26th June, the little garrison at Cawnpore capitulated. The fortifications were wholly inadequate, the number of fight-

ing men was small, and the number of helpless women and children, as well as other non-combatants, was particularly large. The defence had been maintained with magnifi- **Cawnpore.** cent determination for nearly three weeks. The garrison surrendered on the promise of safe conduct for the whole party, who were to be dispatched down the river to Allahabad by water. They were duly conveyed to the river, packed into boats and taken out into midstream. Then the native boatmen dived overboard, and the Nana's men opened fire upon the boats. Somehow the hapless fugitives struggled ashore, where nearly every man was murdered. The women and children to the number of two hundred were taken back to Cawnpore.

On 30th June, Henry Lawrence and the Lucknow garrison were shut up in the Residency, after having been worsted in an engagement at Chinhat. At the beginning of **The war area.** July, there were three main mutineer armies; the largest at Delhi, with a small British force 'besieging' them on one side at the Ridge. Nana Sahib at Cawnpore held the passage of the Ganges, where any British troops coming up to the relief of Lucknow must cross the river. The third army was in Lucknow besieging the small garrison at the Residency. From Allahabad eastwards, the British communications were open. On 30th June, Havelock had arrived to take command at Allahabad, having just returned from the Persian expedition. On the Ridge, in the Lucknow Residency, and with Havelock, there were bodies of loyal sepoys, for the most part Sikhs.

Throughout July and the early part of August, the British, besieged rather than besiegers, held their grip of the Ridge. Five attacks in force were repelled. But by this time **Delhi, 12th June-21st September.** the confidence and security of the Punjab was becoming established; John Nicholson, in spite of much reluctance on the part of John Lawrence, brought down a column from the Punjab to join the force on the Ridge, bringing the numbers up to more than eight thousand. By 6th September, some more native levies joined, and a siege train from the Punjab arrived. General Archdale Wilson was in command, three predecessors having succumbed successively.

Wilson was with difficulty induced to assent to the plans of the engineers, Baird Smith and his young subordinate, Alexander Taylor, of whom Nicholson said, 'If I live, the world shall know that it was Taylor who took Delhi.' From 11th to 13th September, the breaching batteries were at work; on the 14th the Kashmir gate was blown up by Holmes and Salkeld. Three columns forced their way through the breach and won foothold within the ramparts; not till the 21st was the whole city in the hands of the British, the Mogul a prisoner, and the mutineer army in full retreat upon Lucknow.

The defence of the Lucknow Residency, 30th June-25th September.

There the garrison had been holding out grimly, utterly cut off from communication with the outside world. The siege had hardly been opened when Henry Lawrence was killed, and the command devolved upon General Inglis. The small garrison had about a mile of defences to defend, and successfully repelled every attempt to storm them. The sepoys were unskilled in the use of artillery and could not effect a breach. The real danger lay in the almost unlimited possibilities of mining; no fewer than thirty-seven separate mines were attempted between 30th June and 23rd September. Six were misdirected and exploded harmlessly. Twenty-five were met and destroyed by counter mines—by good fortune there happened to be a number of Cornish miners among the British troops. Only one mine actually effected a breach, when the mutineers were so surprised at their success that the garrison had time to repair it before an attack was made. But the enemy were occupying buildings often only a few yards away from the ramparts, and were perpetually on the watch to fire upon any one who showed himself for an instant. The strain upon those who remained fit for work was terrific; it was very rarely that a scrap of information penetrated from outside; the prospects of relief seemed very remote; and some of the loyal sepoys openly declared that unless relief came before the end of the month they would make their own terms and march out.

The relief came just in time. On 7th July, Havelock started from Allahabad on the march to Cawnpore. The whole force

with which on the 12th he encountered the Nana's troops was between two and three thousand men. After two more actions, in which he routed the mutineers, he had no more than fifteen hundred men in line of battle. With these he fought and drove back masses of the mutineers three times on the 16th; on the 17th he reached Cawnpore, hoping that his desperate efforts had enabled him to save the captives. What he found all men know—a shambles wet with the blood of Nana Sahib's helpless victims, slaughtered before he fled; the bodies had been flung into a well. Such a passion of vengeful fury, such a lust of blood, took possession of almost the whole British people when the news of that ghastly tragedy became known, as has perhaps no parallel in our history.

Havelock's advance, July.

Some delay was needed, but on the 29th Havelock crossed the Ganges. There was more furious fighting, and always the rebels were routed. But now came the news that down the river at Dinapur, close to Patna, the sepoys had mutinied, breaking the communications with Bengal. Cholera broke out among Havelock's men. Twice more at Basharat Ganj, Havelock routed the rebels; but advance had become impossible, and he fell back again across the river to Cawnpore. Nothing else was possible, but one effect of the retreat was disastrous. The Oudh gentry, if we may employ that term, the *talukdars*, had hitherto held back their clansmen to a great extent from active participation in the revolt. Now that the British seemed to have abandoned Oudh, they allowed their retainers to swell the rebel army at Lucknow, though still they did not move themselves. Ominous rumours penetrated to the Residency, and then came—silence.

Havelock falls back, August.

The way by Dinapur, however, was cleared. Fifteen Europeans with fifty Sikhs fortified a house at Arrah, which they held with extraordinary skill and valour against a large body of rebels, until a small force arrived which successfully dispersed the enemy and cleared the way up the river from the east. At the end of August, Outram arrived at Calcutta, and was immediately dispatched to join Havelock, who was his junior. The junction was actually

Outram joins Havelock, 15th September.

effected on 15th September, when Outram with characteristic chivalry refused to deprive Havelock of the honour of accomplishing the relief of Lucknow, gave up the command to him, and himself served as a volunteer.

The Residency secured, 25th September.

On 20th September, Outram and Havelock, with a force which had been raised even now only to three thousand men, crossed the Ganges into Oudh once more, and fought their way up to Lucknow, entering the Residency on 25th September, four days after the rebels had been driven out of Delhi. In the proper sense of the term this was not a relief, but simply a reinforcement of the garrison. It was not possible to withdraw the non-combatants, but there was no longer any danger that the Residency would be captured. The siege had served one great purpose in detaining a great mass of the mutineers, who would otherwise have joined the force at Delhi; for Lucknow, it was perhaps fortunate that Delhi had not fallen sooner; for if the Delhi insurgents had joined those in Lucknow, the garrison might have been overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of the enemy. The back of the revolt was broken when Delhi was captured and Lucknow made secure.

Campbell's campaign, November and December.

The China war, arising out of the *Arrow* incident, was already in progress. Troops which had been dispatched were diverted to Bengal, at the instance of the governor-general. In September, Sir Colin Campbell, who had greatly distinguished himself both in the second Sikh war and in the Crimea, arrived in India as commander-in-chief—the old commander-in-chief, General Anson, had died of cholera in May. Through October, Sir Colin was planning and arranging the decisive campaign. On 17th November he relieved Lucknow. A week later Havelock died. A stronger position than the Residency was occupied at the Alam Bagh, where Outram was left in command with four thousand men. Meanwhile the Gwalior troops under the command of Tantia Topi, by far the ablest of the rebel commanders, joined hands with Nana Sahib, and were threatening Cawnpore. Campbell advancing from Lucknow routed the rebels on the 6th December, and split their forces, driving one section over the Ganges and

the other over the Jumna. The main mutineer army was now gathered in the city of Lucknow; to crush it decisively and completely was the work of the early spring, Camp- 1858.
bell's column coming from the west and another, accompanied by a Ghurka contingent, from the east. On 17th March, Lucknow was captured, though a considerable portion of the army was allowed to escape through the defective disposition of the cavalry.

While Campbell was operating in the Ganges basin against the principal masses of the mutineers, the task of dealing with Central India between the Nerbudda and the Jumna was entrusted to Sir Hugh Rose, moving up from Bombay. Within three weeks of Campbell's capture of the city of Lucknow, Rose, after a skilfully conducted campaign, had routed Tantia Topi and taken both the city and the fort of Jhansi. The rani, however, with a considerable body of troops succeeded in joining Tantia Topi. Although resistance had now become desperate, it was by no means over. Lord Canning issued a proclamation which was based on the erroneous information that the Oudh talukdars had taken active part in the revolt. The proclamation accordingly declared that all but a very few of them had forfeited their proprietary rights by rebellion. This was interpreted by the talukdars to mean that the forfeitures would be exacted; they would be ruined men, and ruined unjustly, since even to the last they had abstained from joining the rebels. Naturally enough, the proclamation turned them into rebels, with the result that nine months elapsed before the exhausting guerilla war on which they embarked was completely brought to an end. South of the Jumna, Tantia Topi and the Jhansi rani, 'the Indian Boadicea,' were still in the field; in Oudh, besides the talukdars and their clansmen, the army which had escaped from Lucknow was still in the field, and the Mussulmans were also gathering in Rohilkand. In June, the rani and Tantia Topi even drove Sindhia out of Gwalior and proclaimed Nana Sahib peshwa. The rani, however, was killed in action on 17th June; still Tantia Topi, and others who were

1858. Rose's campaign.

Oudh and the Confiscation Proclamation.

The last struggle.

convinced that there was no hope of pardon for them, continued to struggle on; the war became practically a prolonged hunt after their dwindling forces, till some of them were captured and others, among them Nana Sahib, disappeared altogether. Tantia Topi was tried and executed for complicity in the Cawnpore massacre.

The Mutiny had brought home to the British people the necessity for assuming complete national responsibility for the government of India. The career of the company was closed, and the transfer of the government to the Crown was proclaimed in November 1858. Lord Canning, the last of the company's governors-general, was continued in office as the first of her Britannic Majesty's viceroys. He had been responsible for two actual blunders, though for the first the blame attaches rather to his advisers than to himself. These were the General Service Enlistment Act and the Confiscation Proclamation in Oudh. The latter was in effect misunderstood by the talukdars, for it had not been Canning's intention to apply it rigidly, but to reinstate the talukdars as an act of grace, whenever it should seem reasonable to do so. By a curious irony, the governor-general was then bitterly denounced for tyranny by the British press, which had hitherto denounced him still more virulently for his clemency. The plain truth was, that Canning kept his head and looked facts in the face, when nine-tenths of his whole countrymen were 'seeing red' and had entirely lost all power of cool judgment. There was excuse enough. The systematic murder of the officers who had deserved best of their men, the slaughter of women and children, to say nothing of harmless non-combatants, above all the crowning horrors of the Cawnpore massacres, aroused such a storm of passion that every other sentiment was swept away in the thirst for undiscriminating vengeance. Canning refused to yield to the storm and insisted on discriminating. Therefore he was denounced with savage contempt as Clemency Canning, a name which in the pages of history will cling to him as a title of honour.

The end of John Company.

Canning.

V. Domestic Vicissitudes, 1857-1859

Palmerston, defeated on a vote of censure on his Chinese policy, in March 1857, appealed to the country, and was returned to power with a triumphant majority by the electors in April. The outbreak of the sepoy mutiny immediately following absorbed public attention; and while measures were taken for dealing with the Chinese question, the only piece of domestic legislation in the first session of the new parliament was an Act enabling ordinary citizens to obtain divorce by process of law, instead of being required, as hitherto, to obtain a special Act of parliament—which had made any release from the marriage bond a privilege accorded only to the wealthy. By the new law, the husband could divorce his wife on the plea of unfaithfulness alone, while the wife could divorce her husband only by proving cruelty or desertion as well. The distinction, it may be remarked, was not one of morals, since the law does not concern itself with the censorship of morals; the point was that unfaithfulness in the wife was sufficient by itself, because the unfaithful wife can impose upon her husband children who are not his offspring, whereas the unfaithful husband cannot palm off upon his wife the children of another woman. The Opposition, however, was mainly concerned with the objection to permitting remarriage of the divorced parties, which in the view of the majority of the Anglican clergy is contrary to the teaching of the Church. Nevertheless the bill was carried by decisive majorities.

1857. The Divorce Act.

Later in the year, after parliament had risen, there was a serious financial crisis which the government met successfully by suspending the Bank Charter Act, and allowing the bank to issue notes to the value of £2,000,000 above the legal limit.

A financial crisis.

When parliament met in February, it seemed manifest that the ministry was established in power for an indefinite period. Palmerston introduced an India Bill to do away with the East India Company, abolish the 'dual control,' and transfer the government of India

1858. Fall of the ministry, February.

entirely to the Crown. The first reading was carried with a majority of 145, despite the opposition of the company's advocates, on 18th February. On 19th February, the government was defeated on the second reading of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill. Palmerston at once resigned, and once more the Conservatives took office under Lord Derby, being in a substantial minority in the House.

The Orsini bombs.

The episode which overthrew Palmerston is a very curious one. It arose out of an attempt made upon the life of the Emperor Napoleon, by throwing explosive bombs at his carriage. The plot had been concocted in England by an Italian conspirator, Felice Orsini, who was moved to anger against the emperor for his desertion of the cause of Italian liberation. Under English law, there was no power of excluding an alien from British soil, nor could an alien be tried in England for a crime committed on foreign soil. Conspiracy was punishable, but by nothing more than two years' imprisonment. England, therefore, naturally became a harbour of refuge for political refugees who could practically concoct conspiracies there to their heart's content. There was a wild explosion of excitement in France, with much bombastic and threatening language which aroused corresponding indignation in England. The tone adopted by the French foreign minister in Paris and the French ambassador in London was singularly dictatorial, and it would have been naturally expected that Palmerston, of all men, would resent anything in the shape of dictation in the most uncompromising terms. It appeared, however, to the prime minister that the foreign power really had a legitimate grievance. A bill was introduced making conspiracy to murder—which in Ireland was actually a capital crime—a felony which might be punished by penal servitude for life. In itself the bill was reasonable enough; but that a British minister, the minister of *Civis Romanus Sum*, should introduce it at the blustering dictation of a foreign potentate, backed by the still more insolent blustering of a number of the officers of his army, was intolerable. In the heat of popular anger it was easy enough to make the thing

The Conspiracy to Murder Bill.

appear as though Britain was surrendering her cherished right of asylum. Conservatives, Peelites, and advanced Liberals united, and the bill on its second reading was defeated by a majority of 19. Palmerston found that, popular as he had been, there were limits to his dictatorial powers. He took the lesson to heart, and soon recovered his old popularity. But in the meantime the conduct of the government passed into Lord Derby's hands. Incidentally the excitement caused by the threatening language which had been used in France was responsible for the vigorous development of the volunteer movement for national defence. The affair was closed in effect by a diplomatic letter from the French foreign minister, explaining away his former expressions. The emperor did not want to have a serious quarrel with Britain on his hands.

The second Derby administration.

The immediate business of the Derby ministry was to produce an India Bill which should take the place of Palmerston's. When Disraeli laid the new measure before the House, it was in effect laughed out of court. It proposed to place the Indian government in the hands of a secretary of state with a council of eighteen members, of whom four were to be elected by holders of India stock and five by London, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Belfast respectively. The other nine were to be nominated by the Crown. The parliamentary situation, however, was embarrassing. The Liberals were for the moment too much divided to be at all anxious to return to office; so Russell saved the government by suggesting that the India Bill should not be treated as a party matter at all, but that its principles should be decided by a series of resolutions taking the sense of the House. Disraeli was more than willing. The bill was framed accordingly and was promptly passed by both Houses, becoming law upon 2nd August. Under it the company was wound up. The viceroy and the members of all the Indian services became the servants of the Crown. The company's army was incorporated in the British army. The home authority was placed in the hands of a secretary of state, who was to be a member of the cabinet; he was to be

The India Bill.

assisted by a council of fifteen, appointed by the Crown, though in the first instance some of the members were to be nominated by the old court of directors. The first nominations were for life, but for this a term of years was afterwards substituted. It was required that nine of the members of council must have served for ten years in India.

Position of the cabinet.

An extraordinarily ill-judged dispatch from Lord Ellenborough, as president of the Board of Control, to Lord Canning with regard to the Oudh proclamation, necessitated Ellenborough's retirement, and a distinctly unwise attempt was made to fasten the responsibility for it upon the cabinet, which damaged the Opposition more than the Government. Party divisions at this stage were very ill-defined. Protection was buried, there was very little left of the old Toryism, and the Conservative party was led in the House of Commons by Disraeli, who might have been called by many names, but was perhaps as far removed from the old Toryism as any man could possibly be. It was not therefore altogether surprising that when Lord Derby took office he announced that the government would undertake a measure of parliamentary reform, although Russell's later attempts in that direction had been foiled. In 1858, two minor measures of reform were actually adopted. The property qualification for members was abolished, and thereby one of the Chartist points was conceded. Also, the House of Commons was enabled to administer to persons of the Jewish religion elected to the House a form of oath which did not include the words 'On the faith of a Christian.' Thus Baron Rothschild, who had been duly elected for the city of London, was the first representative of the Jewish faith who was able actually to take his seat in parliament.

Disraeli.

In 1859, Disraeli produced a comprehensive Reform Bill. He had taken upon his shoulders an exceedingly difficult task. He was what British statesmen as a rule are not, a man of an extremely lively imagination, with a passion for the unexpected. That type of political intelligence which is generally suggested by the term Tory, is not at all imaginative, and particularly abominates the unexpected. Everything that

stood for Toryism found itself, very much to its own uneasy surprise, being led in the House of Commons by a man whom it did not in the least understand. Yet somehow it could not help following. This leader was very much more of a democrat than the great majority of the Liberal party; or more accurately perhaps it may be said that he was much less afraid than most Liberals of a democratic extension of the franchise, because he believed in his own capacity for capturing the popular votes. He did not believe in government by the people, but he did believe that a government which captivated the people rested upon stronger foundations than any other. He believed that he could make the Conservatives the popular party in spite of themselves; that he could fascinate his party in parliament and the electorate outside of parliament. But it was some time before he entirely succeeded. His very cleverness frightened his own followers.

So when Disraeli introduced his Reform Bill, it died of ingenuity. The franchise was to be extended to possessors of personal property—£60 in the savings bank, £10 per annum from the Funds, a government pension of £20,—to the £10 householder in the country as well as in the borough; it was to be enjoyed by university graduates and all members of the learned professions. The theory was that while a larger popular element was to be introduced, any objections to lowering the voting standard were to be counterbalanced by the extended recognition of educated intelligence. The effect was the opposite of that intended. The Conservatives were frightened by the popular element, while the Opposition discovered that the bill was carefully calculated to ensure an increase in the Conservative vote. A skilfully worded resolution drawn up by Russell so as to bring into one fold all the diverse objectors to the diverse aspects of the bill succeeded in its object. The government was defeated in a very full House by thirty-nine votes. Lord Derby appealed to the electors; the government was still in a minority when the new House of Commons met; a vote of 'no confidence' was carried by thirteen votes; and Lord Derby resigned.

1859. Disraeli's first Reform Bill.

The primary problem for the Liberal party lay in the standing difficulty of real co-operation between Palmerston and Russell, each of whom had been at the head of a Liberal ministry. Each, however, was induced to agree that he would give his support to the other—in effect, that if either of them became prime minister the administration should be a joint one. The task of forming the ministry was actually assigned to Palmerston, and Russell joined him as foreign minister. The Peelites were definitely absorbed into the larger united party, and Gladstone became chancellor of the exchequer. The cabinet was filled with men of marked ability. The real problem was that of keeping them united, since so many of them were persons of extremely independent judgment. But though differences of opinion might have produced disastrous results if domestic affairs had claimed the attention of the ministry, there was in the first place a common disposition to postpone such questions in deference to the views of the prime minister, who had already attained to the age of seventy-five; and further, the interest of foreign affairs again became absorbing. So long as this was the case, the question of parliamentary reform would at least be held in abeyance.

Palmerston's last administration, 1859-65.

Before passing on to the account of the last Palmerston administration, we may conveniently complete the story of the China war, which we left at its initial stage before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny; though its actual conclusion was not reached till 1860. Since Governor Yeh's offending proclamation had set a price upon the heads of Europeans, France joined Britain in demanding reparation and a revision of the relations between Chinese and Europeans. The British government sent out Lord Elgin, the successful governor of Canada, as plenipotentiary. Troops originally intended for China were, as we have seen, diverted to render service in the suppression of the Mutiny. Elgin also visited Calcutta before going on to China. On his arrival at Hong-Kong in September 1857 he found the Chinese authorities still determined to refuse concessions. At the end of December,

The China war, 1857-8.

the French and British squadrons bombarded Canton, which was captured and sacked in January, Governor Yeh being taken prisoner. Still the Pekin government was obdurate. So the allied fleets went up to the Peiho and destroyed the Taku forts which guarded the entrance. When Pekin found itself actually threatened, the government gave way, and on 26th June 1858 the Treaty of Tien-tsin was concluded. The Chinese undertook to concede most of the British demands, and a British Resident was placed in Pekin. The treaty was to be formally ratified within twelve months.

But the Chinese showed no disposition to carry out the terms of the treaty. In June 1859, when the British and French plenipotentiaries attempted to proceed to Pekin to procure the ratification, they found the Taku forts restored and the entry to the Peiho barred. An attempt to carry the forts by storm ended in disaster. Nothing more could be effectively accomplished without substantial reinforcements. When the French and British advanced again in the autumn of 1860, the Taku forts were captured. Chinese commissioners came to meet the Europeans, but the party sent forward to make the arrangements was seized and carried captive to Pekin; consequently, Pekin was attacked, the famous summer palace was sacked and destroyed, and the Chinese submitted. A heavy sum in compensation was exacted, and on 24th October the Pekin Treaty was signed. For the time, the Chinese government had learnt its lesson, and a British minister was actually received at the Chinese capital.

The last phase, 1859-60.

VI. Palmerston's Second Administration: (1) Foreign Affairs, 1859-1865

Sufficiently satisfactory relations with France had been restored at the beginning of the Derby administration. But the fears of assassination inspired by the Orsini incident revived Napoleon's disposition to pose as the saviour of Italy. The effort of the Italians to free themselves from foreign rule in 1849 had been throttled. When that struggle was over, Southern

Italy in 1858.

Italy and Sicily were still ruled by the oppressive Bourbon monarchy; in Central Italy, Pope Pius IX., who at the beginning of his career had been credited with liberal sentiments, had thrown himself on the side of the reaction. So it was also with the independent duchies. Austrian dominion was established apparently more firmly than ever over most of the north. Only the king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, ruling over Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy, attached himself to the principles of constitutionalism, supported by the genius of his great minister Cavour. Italian patriots were, many of them, in pursuit of republican ideals; Cavour's ideal was Italian unification under a national monarchy, which involved primarily the ejection of the entirely foreign dominion of Austria in Venetia and Lombardy.

In 1858, Cavour obtained the promise of Napoleon's support in the event of a contest between Sardinia and Austria. Proposals were put forward for a European congress to settle the Italian question. The refusal of Austria to recognise Sardinia at a congress, and an ultimatum from her demanding disarmament on the part of Sardinia, placed her definitely in the position of aggressor, and gave Napoleon his warrant for entering North Italy as Victor Emmanuel's ally, in May 1859. The campaign was decided by the two battles of Magenta and Solferino in June. The duchies and Bologna rose; the dukes took to flight, and the duchies offered themselves to the king of Sardinia. It was part of Napoleon's bargain that Austria was to cede Lombardy and Venetia to the king of Sardinia, who was to cede to him Savoy and Nice, both of which were quite as much French as Italian. But the emperor had accomplished his purpose, and Victor Emmanuel was obliged to accept the terms which he chose to proffer to Austria at Villafranca. Lombardy was to be ceded but not Venetia. The duchies were to return to their former obedience. The papal authority was to be again recognised in the papal states. Napoleon, in fact, did not want a strong kingdom of North Italy. The reinstatement of these rulers, however, was not to be accomplished by force.

The war of 1859.

As a matter of fact, however, the affair did not end here.

The duchies and the legations (the papal territories) rejected the conditions, and insisted on offering themselves to Victor Emmanuel. Cavour, whose indignation at the Villafranca Treaty had caused him to resign, resumed office; in effect Napoleon insisted on the cession of Savoy and Nice as the condition of his goodwill; that being granted, he agreed that the question of the duchies should be settled by *plébiscite*; the *plébiscite* was overwhelmingly in favour of annexation; and in March 1860 the duchies became a part of the Sardinian kingdom. Venetia remained to Austria, a portion of the papal states to the Pope, and Southern Italy, the 'Two Sicilies,' to the Bourbon Francis II., who succeeded the iniquitous Ferdinand II. in 1859.

The North Italian kingdom, 1860.

Within twelve months the Sicilies had been added to the king of Sardinia's dominion by the independent action of the warrior patriot, Giuseppe Garibaldi. Victor Emmanuel had no ground for taking action against Francis, but Garibaldi raised a band of volunteers, known as 'The Thousand,' with whom he landed in Sicily in May. The whole island rose. Before the end of June it was entirely in the possession of the insurgents. Garibaldi crossed to the mainland and conducted what was simply a triumphal march to Naples, from which Francis retreated in haste. Garibaldi proclaimed himself dictator, and it appeared probable that Southern Italy, instead of uniting itself with Northern Italy, would seek to establish itself as an independent republic. Meanwhile Pius IX. had opened the door for Cavour, by himself attacking the legations which had transferred themselves to the northern kingdom. The Sardinian troops thereupon entered the papal territory, and routed the papal troops. In spite of the protests of the powers, with the exception of Britain, Cavour declared that the annexation of the Sicilies was now the only available method of checking the revolutionary party. Victor Emmanuel's troops entered Neapolitan territory. Garibaldi's patriotic desire for Italian unity triumphed over his republican ideals, and instead of offering resistance he met Victor Emmanuel and hailed him king of Italy. Early in 1861, the expulsion of the Bourbon

The kingdom of Italy, 1861.

dynasty was completed, and Europe accepted the *fait accompli*. Venetia was still under the Austrian dominion; Rome, under the Pope supported by a French garrison, together with the districts known as 'the patrimony of St. Peter,' remained apart; but the rest of Italy was united under a single monarchy which took its name no longer from Sardinia but from the peninsula.

The British attitude.

Throughout these proceedings the cause of Italian unity owed not a little to the attitude adopted in England. Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone were all in agreement in the vigour of their sympathies with the Italians. Popular feeling was with them, though the court and several members of the ministry were not in accord with them. But for the firmness of their attitude the other powers would certainly have intervened to prevent the adventure of Garibaldi, and probably to prevent the adhesion of the duchies to the Sardinian kingdom. The attitude of the Palmerston government in respect of Italy was entirely sound and entirely successful. What still remained to be accomplished for Italian unity was brought to completion in the course of the next ten years. Politically, Italy had never been united since the days of the Roman empire; her unification in the nineteenth century was perhaps the most decisive achievement of the spirit of nationalism. Each in his own way the heroes of the movement were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, though they worked by no means in concert; and the statesmanship was Cavour's, in association with the shrewd king, Victor Emmanuel. But Italy recognised to the full the part that had been played by Britain in keeping the ring and preventing the active foreign intervention which would have stayed her from working out her own redemption. The Palmerstonian methods were not calculated to gain the goodwill of European governments; but the newly created Italian state was an exception.

The United States, 1861.

Equally sound, but in one respect at least not equally successful, was the attitude of the government in relation to the great American Civil War, which broke out in 1861. British sympathies, so far as the war presented itself as being one for the abolition of slavery, were wholly on the side of the North. From another point of view the case for the

South appealed to them very strongly. It was a matter of extraordinary difficulty for the British government to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality. To each of the combatants it appeared monstrous that the justice of their own cause could be questioned in the old country, monstrous that the old country did not side with them whole-heartedly and emphatically; yet the old country did steadily and resolutely refuse to take sides in a quarrel which was emphatically one for the states to settle between themselves.

North and South.

Between the northern and the southern states there was a long-standing antagonism of interests. The wealth of the South lay in its plantations, principally of cotton and tobacco, which from the earliest days of the colonies had been worked mainly by slave labour. The wealth of the North lay in agriculture and manufacture, which never created a demand for negro slave labour. The manufacturing North desired high protection against European and especially British competition; the South, with no manufactures, and dependent for everything it wanted upon the imports for which it exchanged its own natural products, wanted not Protection, which raised the price of manufactured goods, but Free Trade and cheap imports. The North, which derived no benefits from slavery, could see, as Europe had learnt to see, the iniquity of the system. The South, conscious of deriving advantages from the system, conscious also that the average negro on the average estate was not living by any means in a condition of abject misery, clung to its belief that slavery was an institution sanctioned, not to say commended, by Scripture.

State rights and federal powers.

The interests of North and South being thus diverse, the northern states were dominant in the central or federal government. But the government of the United States was that of a union of a number of states originally quite independent of each other which had combined together, each state making a partial surrender only of its independence to the central controlling body, so that the immediate interests of the individual state might not be permitted to override the interests of the community at large. How far

then were the interests of one group of states having a preponderance in the central governing body entitled to override the interests of a less powerful group? The preponderant North claimed for the central government the maximum of control; the South, overborne in the central government, claimed for the individual states the maximum of control, and in particular resisted the right claimed by the central government to impose tariffs and to interfere with the institution of slavery. Finally, the South declared in effect that if state rights were to be overridden by the central government the southern states would secede from the Union, maintaining that the Union itself was not an insoluble federation, but a voluntary confederacy of independent states, each of which had the right of dissolving its connection with the rest.

Secession.

It is not easy to see *prima facie* how a nation which had come into independent existence by asserting for itself the right of secession from the British empire could maintain that its own members had not a corresponding right of secession from the Union. But circumstances alter cases. The United States as one federated body bound permanently together, forming a single organism, might be an imperial nation. If separation were permissible at all, there was no limiting the extent to which it might be carried. Secession would, in the first place, create two nations with interests largely antagonistic which might disintegrate into a number of separate semi-hostile communities. The North insisted on the Federal bond, and declared that secession would be rebellion. When Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency at the end of 1860 the question came to a head. Slavery was involved in the issue, but was not in itself the main issue; which was that of particularism against imperialism, the right of secession.

1861. Federals and Confederates.

The Southerners formed themselves into a separate confederation, and elected a president of their own, Jefferson Davis. In the war which followed they called themselves Confederates, the term representing the looser form of union. The Northerners called themselves Federals, as insisting upon the closer insoluble form

of union distinguished as Federalism; and they called the Southerners rebels, as having thrown off the authority of the Federal government. The British government in May 1861 issued a proclamation of neutrality. At the same time the government refused to take upon itself either the recognition of the South as an independent sovereign state or the assumption of the Northerners that the Southerners were rebels. Both parties were to be treated as belligerents, the rules of neutrality applying to both in identically the same manner. The official attitude was in fact very much that which had been adopted when Greece was fighting for independence, and the British government had refused to treat the Greeks either as rebels against the Turks or as an independent state until they had achieved a *de facto* independence.

British neutrality.

Before the war had been going on for twelve months, the country had a narrow escape from becoming involved in it. The Confederates dispatched two commissioners to England and France. Having reached Havana, the commissioners took passage on a British ship called the *Trent* on 8th November. Next day the *Trent* was boarded by a Federal ship of war, and the commissioners were carried off as prisoners. There was no possible question that this proceeding was a gross outrage in defiance of international law. An apology and the immediate surrender of the commissioners were demanded forthwith, and troops were embarked for Canada. But a method of retreat was provided for the American president, suggested by Prince Albert, then on his deathbed. If the commissioners were released and the action of the Federal commander disavowed, honour would be satisfied. France and Russia united in pressing friendly warnings upon the American president. Lincoln yielded, though with an ill grace, and war was averted.

1861. The 'Trent' affair, November.

Through 1861 and 1862 the fighting went steadily in favour of the South. But the resources of the North were infinitely greater, and a change was brought into the character of the war when in the later months of 1862 abolition was brought into the forefront by a proclamation freeing all slaves. Before

Abolition.

the final victory of the North in April 1865 there was no other moment when there was imminent danger that Britain would be dragged into the struggle. Yet at the end of 1862 the British government was on the verge of definitely recognising the independence of the South, or at least of offering mediation, with the alternative, if it were refused by the North, of recognition. The cabinet, however, abstained from taking the decisive step. Feeling against Britain was much embittered in the North by obvious display of sympathy with the South on the part of a large proportion of the British public, especially among the wealthier classes, during the earlier stages of the war. Apart from the question of slavery there could be very little doubt that the whole weight of public opinion would have been on the side, not of imperialism, but of the community which was making a stubborn fight for its own political freedom against enormous odds. Yet through the country there was a pervading consciousness that another kind of freedom was at stake, and that the cause of the North was the cause of abolition.

The British attitude.

The depth of that feeling, the intensity of its moral force, was splendidly displayed in the noble self-control of the cotton operatives during the cotton famine which resulted directly from the war. During the first two years the amount of the raw material of the cotton industry imported fell by as much as two-thirds, because the blockade of the southern ports by the Federal navy cut off the supply. The great population which lived by the cotton industry was thrown out of employment. The inducement to demand intervention on behalf of the South in order to liberate the cotton trade was enormous. If that demand had been pressed, it must have turned the scale irresistibly; yet the working man chose to endure through a long period of terrible privation rather than demand an intervention which must have given a renewed lease of life to the institution of slavery. The whole episode redounds to the national honour, and most of all to that of the British working-man; though there were some —too many perhaps—of the Lancashire mill-owners who did not scruple to reap an advantage for themselves by selling

The Lancashire cotton famine, 1862.

abroad at famine prices the stocks of cotton which they had accumulated, instead of using them for the employment of their own operatives. The working-men endured in grim silence; a splendid liberality was shown by the public in subscribing for the relief of their sufferings. The organisation to deal with the relief fund, which amounted to little short of £3,000,000, was admirably managed under the presidency of Lord Derby. Only once through the whole prolonged period of privation was there a serious riot, although at one time there were no less than 250,000 persons in receipt of relief.

Both the South and the North were so angry with the British government for its persistence in neutrality that at one stage there was actually some talk of dropping their own quarrel to make war upon Britain. Neither had in fact any better reason for indignation than its own conviction of the righteousness of its own cause and the depravity of Britain in not acting on the same assumption. The North, however, had one cause of grievance in the amount of assistance which was given to the South by ships from British ports which put to sea with every appearance of innocent intentions, but were actually destined to be employed as cruisers by the Confederates. As a matter of fact, there was some lack of vigilance on the part of the government. With regard to one vessel in particular, the *Alabama*, there was at least a fair case for claiming that the government had information of her destination in time to prevent her from putting to sea; but there was no justification for the pretence that such negligence as the government displayed was intentional. The fact, however, remained, that several British cruisers did come into the hands of the Southerners, and did do a vast amount of injury to the Northern mercantile marine. The demands for compensation put forward by the United States government were ultimately settled by arbitration in 1872.

American resentment.

The cruisers.

Although the conduct of the government through the American Civil War deserves almost unqualified praise, it left behind it an unfortunate and unwarranted heritage of bitter feeling towards Britain in the United States, unhappily almost as strong in the

South as in the North. The government's conduct in relation to Italian affairs is no less deserving of commendation. Equal wisdom, however, was not shown with regard to two other questions which disturbed Europe, Poland and Schleswig-Holstein. In 1863, the Poles revolted against the outrageous tyranny of the Russian government. Prussia, whose destinies were now under the guidance of the great minister, Otto von Bismarck, showed her sympathies (which were not to be unrewarded) by permitting Russian troops to pass over Prussian territory for the suppression of the revolt. British sympathies were, as a matter of course, entirely and vehemently on the side of the Poles. Public opinion would have supported the government in a determined intervention; but intervention which it was not prepared to back in arms was entirely futile. Russell intervened with lectures and remonstrances, but allowed it to be seen that he would restrict himself to words; with the natural result that Russia in effect told him to mind his own business, and Britain was placed in the undignified position of having issued blustering denunciations which were contemptuously ignored.

Poland, 1863.

Very much the same thing happened with regard to Schleswig-Holstein. The death of the king of Denmark, whose heir was the father of the newly married Princess of Wales, raised the question of succession, the king having also been duke of Schleswig and Holstein. The integrity of the Danish kingdom had been guaranteed by the powers in the Treaty of London in 1852; but the interpretation of the treaty was a matter very far from simple. The duchies fell within the German empire; Denmark claimed them for the new king of Denmark; the diet of the Germanic confederation claimed the duchies for another candidate. Bismarck worked the situation in his own interest, in such fashion that the British public believed that Prussia and Austria in combination were carrying out to their own advantage a piece of pure robbery. Again Russell adopted a blustering attitude which he had no intention of supporting by force of arms, and again his denunciations were ignored.

Schleswig-Holstein, 1864.

Whether, in relation to the great powers, the government assumed the attitude of determined neutrality or of wordily aggressive interference, it never meant fighting. **Japan, 1862.** But apart from the conclusion of the Chinese war, it did become involved in two small wars overseas. The first was a brief conflict with Japan, which, like China, had held itself apart from the Western world. Very little was known about it, and, until 1858, its ports were closed to all foreign commerce, except that of the Dutch, who were admitted only to a small island off Yokohama. In 1858, however, when Lord Elgin went to China, he was able to pay a visit to Japan and to open negotiations with the Japanese government, which promised to open five ports to British trade with an agent in each. Although hidebound in a peculiar feudal system of its own, there was a section of the Japanese which was waking up to the existence of a real outer world beyond its own ring-fence; in 1862, an embassy from Japan actually visited England. But the feudal lords despised the foreigners who took up their residence in the treaty ports, and the foreigners were apt to behave for their part with an unbecoming arrogance. Consequently, in 1862, there was a collision; the retinue of one of the nobles killed an Englishman named Richardson. The British minister at Yokohama demanded compensation; the government paid and apologised. But the nobleman implicated refused to pay the claim entered against him personally. Popular hostility to the foreigners was fomented, and the ports were closed. A part of the British squadron in those waters was dispatched to threaten the recalcitrant nobleman who was at the bottom of the quarrel. The admiral seized some Japanese ships close to Kagosima, the forts of Kagosima opened fire upon the British ships, the British ships bombarded Kagosima, the Japanese gave way, and the ports were reopened.

The second war was in Ashanti, at the back of the African Gold Coast. The king of Ashanti made an attack upon the friendly tribe of the Fantis. A punitive expedition became necessary; the troops accomplished very little and suffered a great deal from the pestilential climate, **Ashanti, 1864.**

and the affair brought some discredit on the government, which narrowly escaped defeat on a vote of censure.

VII. Palmerston's Second Administration: (2) Domestic Affairs, 1859-1865

Reform suspended.

Meanwhile, in domestic affairs the Liberal ministry was marking time. Palmerston was no enthusiast for anything in the nature of democratic change; and though Russell had earnest aspirations in that direction, his position as foreign minister gave him occupation sufficiently absorbing to restrain him from pressing the cause of reform. After the rejection of Disraeli's Reform Bill, it was indeed scarcely possible for a Liberal ministry to leave the question entirely alone, and a Reform Bill was actually brought in in 1860. Its main intention was simply an extension of the franchise by conceding an occupation franchise of £10 in the counties, and lowering the £10 borough franchise to £6. There was also to be a small redistribution of seats, accompanied by an arrangement for representing minorities in the three-member constituencies. There was, however, no enthusiasm for the bill, which was withdrawn at midsummer, and the whole matter was dropped for the time.

Gladstone's budgets; 1859.

Consequently, the whole of the interest in domestic legislation during these years is associated directly or indirectly with the operations of Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer. Although there was nominal co-operation, or rather a professed agreement between France and Britain, as to the objects in view in the field of European politics, the emperor's proceedings were always regarded with extreme suspicion. The Treaty of Villafranca confirmed the general belief that Napoleon was playing an entirely selfish game, and that he might be found at any moment adopting a line antagonistic to this country. In 1859, suspicions of the emperor's intentions forced into prominence the necessity for a large expenditure on the organisation of defence. Averse as Gladstone always was from expenditure upon armaments, he could not resist the pressure. At the same time, he

insisted strongly on the principle that in time of peace the year's expenditure ought to be met out of the year's revenue. Hence, instead of the reduction of taxation which had been hoped for, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to raise an additional £4,000,000 by adding fourpence to the income tax.

In 1860, however, he was able to make an advance. In the interval, Cobden had been authorised to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. The French tariff was prohibitive, and French economists were for the most part intensely protectionist. The emperor, however, had been converted to Free Trade views by the rapid advance in commercial prosperity which had followed upon the Free Trade developments in England. According to Cobden's own doctrine, free imports provided the best weapon for fighting hostile tariffs, as they reduced the cost of production in the Free Trade country, which could buy all its commodities in the cheapest market. There was no reason, however, against obtaining a direct price for the removal of such tariffs as still existed, even though it would pay to remove them without any direct return. Under the commercial treaty negotiated by Cobden, France was to reduce her tariffs against a large number of British products, while Britain was to remove duties on manufactured goods and to reduce those on wine and brandy. Neither country, however, in making these alterations was thereby granting a preference to the other as compared with other foreign nations. The same reductions and removals of tariffs were to apply to imports, wherever they came from. It was Cobden's conviction above all that the increase of commerce between nations was the best possible pacificator; and he anticipated a consequent development of friendly feeling which did not immediately result.

Cobden's commercial treaty, 1860.

The treaty represented the utmost limits to which the emperor dared venture in the direction of Free Trade. It still required ratification when Gladstone introduced his budget in February 1860. Upon it, however, the budget was framed. The falling in of a large number of annuities in this year would have provided in the natural course of events

The budget of 1860.

a surplus of £2,000,000. But the abolition of the taxes upon manufactured goods, together with the other reductions proposed, would immediately deprive the revenue of a still larger sum. Gladstone therefore did not propose for the moment to abate either the income tax or the still very heavy tea and sugar duties, though all were felt as grievances. The theory was that which lay at the bottom of Free Trade finance, that the removal of duties would so increase the general wealth of the nation that it could bear with ease the weight of taxation drawn from other sources. The schedule of taxable articles had already been reduced between 1845 and 1859 from 1163 to 419. The budget of 1860 retained only 48. Nor were any of these of a protective character. A protective tax is one which enables the home producer to place his goods on the market at a higher price than if he were exposed to unrestricted competition. A non-protective tax upon goods is one which is exacted equally from the home producer and the foreign producer. In both cases the amount of the tax is added to the cost of production in fixing the price to the consumer. In the case of the non-protective tax the whole of the additional sum goes to the revenue; in the case of the protective tax, only so much of it as is derived from imports, the extra price for the home produced goods going to the producer. The root principle upon which Gladstone acted was that the extra price which the consumer pays should go entirely to revenue. The actual outcome of the treaty was that the British exports to France in 1861 were all but doubled as compared with 1859.

The paper duty.

The budget, however, gave rise to a question of great constitutional importance. One of the duties to be abolished was the tax upon paper, which was of considerable value to the revenue. The effect of its removal would chiefly be to cheapen the production of printed matter. Was it desirable that the price of printed matter should be reduced? From the democratic point of view it would mean that knowledge and information could be disseminated at a lower price, and would reach to the poorer strata of the population. From another point of view, it meant that demagogues would find an

immensely and dangerously increased circulation for their inflammatory propaganda. That is, on the one side there was the body of opinion which reckoned that cheap literature and a cheap press would be a public benefit, and on the other a body of opinion which reckoned that they would be a public danger. There was a third body of opinion floating midway, uncertain whether the benefits would outweigh the evils, inclining also to the view that, since the balance was uncertain, it would be better not to surrender what was at any rate a useful source of revenue for the sake of a change of doubtful value.

The budget was not at that time embodied in a single bill; the Paper Bill was separate from the other provisions. Its second reading was carried in the Commons by a majority of fifty, but on the third by only nine. The Lords found their opportunity. It had been recognised since the days of Charles II. that the Lords could not amend a finance bill; it had never been laid down that they could not reject one in its entirety, though it would have been necessary to go back a very long way to find any precedent for their doing so. The Lords, instigated by old Lord Lyndhurst, asserted their right of rejection and threw out the Paper Bill—to the private satisfaction of Palmerston, who disliked it. There was no doubt that the peers were technically within their legal rights; whether in view of the want of precedents they had acted unconstitutionally in touching a finance bill at all was another question. There are rights of which the Crown has never been deprived by statute, rights which it can legally exercise, but of which the exercise would certainly be challenged as unconstitutional. There was an outcry amongst the advanced Liberals that the action of the Lords in this case was unconstitutional. An immediate collision, however, was avoided by the appointment of a committee to investigate precedents, and the passing of a series of resolutions in the Commons upon the presentation of their report. The resolutions declared that the Commons alone have the right of granting supplies and of settling their limits; that the power occasionally exercised in the past by the Lords of rejecting

The Lords reject the Paper Bill.

The Commons' resolutions.

bills of supply was viewed by the Commons with extreme jealousy; and that the Commons had in their own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply that their rights should be maintained inviolate.

From the Gladstonian point of view, the action of the Lords had necessitated a decisive step which should ensure that they should not again interfere with the sole authority of the Commons to deal with money bills. Whether the particular bill happened to be one as to which the House of Commons was lukewarm was beside the question. The direct challenge was thrown down when the budget was introduced in 1861. The chancellor of the exchequer, instead of bringing in a series of finance bills as had hitherto been the custom, embodied the whole of his financial proposals in a single bill. In doing so he made himself responsible for what was unquestionably a very striking innovation. Agitation on the subject had been active in the interval. There were ardent supporters of the Paper Bill who would have preferred to adhere to the old practice, and to fight out the single issue of the 'tax upon knowledge.' The Conservative element saw that if Gladstone's plan were carried out, the Lords would in future be unable to touch any details in the financial proposals for the year, and would be obliged either to accept or reject the budget in its entirety. Gladstone's plan was carried by a majority of only fifteen. The bill went up to the House of Lords. For them to reject it in its entirety was out of the question. The alternative was to claim that the form which had been sent up was an innovation upon constitutional practice; that they were entitled to divide the bill and return it to the House of Commons. That course, however, would certainly have been fraught with danger. They did not venture upon the heroic course, and the budget was passed. Nearly fifty years passed before they again asserted actively the right of challenging the financial proposals of the House of Commons.

The single finance bill, 1861.

The bill passed.

In 1860 a penny had been added to the income tax, to meet the loss of revenue from the proposed abolition of the paper duty. In 1861 the year's development of trade warranted

the removal of the extra penny. The continued prosperity allowed of further reductions of twopence, a penny, and twopence again in 1863 and the two following years, and also a much desired reduction of the tea duty in 1863 and 1865, and of the sugar duty in 1864. So striking was the success of the financial system inaugurated by Peel, and carried to completion by Gladstone, that the exports increased one hundred and fifty per cent. between 1848 and 1866.

Success of Gladstone's finance.

Another notable achievement of Gladstone in 1861 was the establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank, which enabled persons with the smallest incomes to find for the smallest savings a secure investment guaranteed by the government. There remains only one other measure of the last Palmerston administration which here demands our attention. A commission was appointed in 1858 to inquire into the working of the system of education established between 1839 and 1846. The result was the revised code of 1862, the work of Robert Lowe, vice-president of the Education Committee. The distribution of the Treasury grant was to be on the principle of payment by results, the 'results' being ascertained by the examination of all the children who had attended school with regularity. It was, however, to be modified by the apportionment of one-third of the grant on the basis, not of efficiency, as shown by the examination test, but of the number of children in regular attendance.

The Savings Bank, 1861.

Education, 1862.

The parliament elected in 1859 had enjoyed six years of life in April 1865. In July it was dissolved. The general election raised the majority of the government supporters from forty to sixty. But before the new parliament met, the chief, who had first become prime minister at the age of seventy, died, two days before what would otherwise have been his eighty-first birthday. The period of marking time was at an end.

Death of Palmerston, 1865.

VIII. The Gates of Democracy, 1865-1868

It was a matter of course that on Palmerston's death he should be succeeded as prime minister by the other veteran leader of the Liberal party, who during the course of the administration had withdrawn to the House of Lords with the title of Earl Russell. It followed also, upon the disappearance of Lord Palmerston, that the leadership of the House of Commons devolved upon the chancellor of the exchequer. Both Russell and Gladstone were zealous advocates of franchise extension, Palmerston no longer blocked the way, and the early introduction of a new Reform Bill was a certainty. Yet even now there were no signs of popular excitement on the subject. There were, moreover, other questions which distracted public attention; three were acute, while the fourth was the renewal of Irish troubles which, since the lull of seventeen years from 1848 to 1865, have never ceased to appropriate a foremost share in British politics.

1865. After Palmerston.

The agricultural interests, in the first place, were seriously disturbed by an outbreak of cattle plague known as rinderpest, imported from abroad in the summer of 1865. A commission urged the prohibition of importation, and the stringent prevention of the transit of cattle from one district to another. Hostility to the idea of government intervention was still strong. Nothing at first was done beyond permitting local authorities to apply severe regulations. This proved entirely insufficient. The murrain spread, and in the spring session of the new parliament a bill was introduced and carried, requiring the slaughter of all imported cattle when they reached port—Irish cattle being exempted from the order, as that island remained completely free from the disease. The slaughter also was ordered of all plague-stricken or infected cattle; and after a sharp tussle between the economists, compensation from the rates up to one half the value of the cattle destroyed was sanctioned. In the course of the year, the measures proved effective, and the plague was stamped out, though not till losses had been sustained, estimated at between

The rinderpest.

1866.

three and four millions. One beneficial result, however, was that increased attention was paid to sanitary precautions and dairy supervision.

In the spring of 1866 came the turn of the commercial world. The establishment of the principle of limited liability companies, by diminishing the risks of the individual investor, stimulated speculation, as also did the general commercial prosperity. Speculation led up to a crisis, and the failure of a large number of companies; the great firm of bill discounters, Overend and Gurney, failed with liabilities not far short of £20,000,000, and a crowd of lesser firms followed suit. The bank came to the assistance of the financial community, and the government came to the assistance of the bank by suspending the Bank Charter Act. The authorisation to increase the issue of bank-notes served the purpose of checking the panic, and the bank did not find it actually necessary to resort to the extra issue.

Overend and Gurney.

The third question over which public opinion was greatly disturbed was an insurrection in Jamaica in the autumn of 1865, which was vigorously suppressed by the governor, Edward Eyre. To this we shall revert later, here observing that public opinion at home was violently divided on the question of the justification of the arbitrary measures adopted by the governor. The division had no connection with parliamentary parties, but great literary names were ranged on either side—on the one J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Huxley; on the other, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Charles Kingsley.

Jamaica.

Of far more lasting importance than any of these matters was the new development in Ireland. In that country there had been from time immemorial three grievances—the agrarian, the religious, and the political. British opinion had so far realised the existence of the religious grievance as to concede Catholic emancipation and the commutation of tithes. For the agrarian grievance, the legal relations between landlords and tenants, the only palliative hitherto attempted had been the Encumbered Estates Act. The political grievance, the plain fact that Ireland was governed not in accordance with the

Ireland.

wishes and opinions of the majority of Irishmen, but by English ideas, did not present itself to English minds as a grievance at all. Although O'Connell had taken up the agitation for the repeal of the Union, and although that idea had taken a strong grip on the minds of that section of the Irish community which in the forties had been banded together under the name of 'Young Ireland,' British opinion was absolutely deaf to it. It may reasonably be maintained that in all probability Irish opinion also would have been deaf to it if the parliament of the United Kingdom had dealt with the other two grievances with any degree of success. But a new factor in the situation had arisen since the Irish famine. During the years following that terrible visitation, vast numbers of Irishmen had emigrated to America. They conceived that British misgovernment of Ireland was responsible for the conditions which had driven them into exile. In America, they found themselves in an atmosphere of hostility to the British, whereby their own sense of wrongs was intensified. The grievance which they nursed was that of an alien domination in the land from which they had been exiled. All their influence was directed to fostering among the kinsfolk they had left behind a hatred of British rule; and the Irish problem became enormously complicated, because the American Irish, entirely outside of British jurisdiction, had become a factor of first-rate importance. This had not become immediately apparent. But in 1865 the American Civil War was brought to an end with the decisive victory of the North. Irishmen had taken an active part in that contest fighting on both sides. Their hatred of the British, as exiled Irishmen, was intensified by their hatred of the British, as American citizens; and they had learnt something about war.

The Irish in America.

For some years that definitely revolutionary element which had subsisted in Ireland ever since the days of Wolfe Tone, now fostered and encouraged and to a great extent financed by the American Irish, had been actively engaged in the formation of secret societies for the subversion of the government. In America itself, a secret society

The Fenian Brotherhood, 1865.

had been formed as early as 1858, known as the Fenian Brotherhood, the name Fenian being taken from the warriors of the Irish legendary era. The Irish revolutionary societies were attached to the Fenian movement, which did not in itself appeal with great force either to the Irish peasant or to the Irish Roman Catholic priest. Fenianism recognised that there was no hope in open rebellion; no forces could conceivably be put in the field which could cope with the military resources of the British government. The war of liberation must be a secret war, a war by conspiracy. But conspiracy on a large scale can never be kept secret for very long. Information reached the government, and in September 1865 the government struck. Several of the Fenian leaders in Ireland were suddenly arrested. In November they were brought to trial and condemned, for the most part to long terms of imprisonment. The evidence demonstrated the widespread character of the plot. The Irish authorities definitely came to the conclusion that the ordinary powers of the executive would not suffice for the preservation of public security. There was a rapid exodus of the American Fenians; but the imperial parliament in February 1866 suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. In the course of twelve months the immediate Fenian movement appeared to have been stamped out; but it was merely one particular expression of a movement which was only in its early stages.

1866. The Liberal Reform Bill.

In March the oft-times deferred Reform Bill was once more introduced. Russell's measure was by no means a sweeping one; it was intended to conciliate the more Conservative element within the Liberal ranks. But while it was too moderate to arouse enthusiastic support, it went too far for the opponents of democracy. The bill confined itself to arrangements for an extension of the franchise which, it was calculated, would add some four hundred thousand persons to the register. At the same time, it postponed the question of redistribution of seats, which was a necessary concomitant of any appreciable change in the class of voters admitted to the franchise. The county franchise qualification was to be lowered to £4, that in the boroughs to £7. Thrift was to

be rewarded by the admission of any one who had kept a deposit of not less than £50 in the savings bank for three years. In the boroughs the £10 lodger was to be admitted as well as the £7 householder; but the change upon which the Opposition fastened was that the qualification was fixed by the rental instead of by personal payment of the rates. Hitherto only the man whose sense of public responsibility was brought home to him by the demands of the rate collector had been allowed to vote. But there were a great many people who were known as compound householders, because they compounded with the landlords for the payment of rates. The tenant, that is, instead of paying so much for rent and so much to the rates agreed to pay a larger rent out of which the landlord paid the rates; very much as before commutation of tithes the tenant had paid so much rent and so much tithe, whereas, after commutation, the landlord paid the tithe and the tenant paid an increased rent. The compound householder, and the tenant after commutation, did in effect produce the money for the payment of rates or tithes, though they did not appear to be doing so because the actual cash payment of those imposts fell upon the landlord, and the rent did not vary directly with the variations of the rates. But it was argued that the indirect payment made all the difference in the tenant's sense of citizenship and responsibility.

The compound householder.

A group of the Palmerstonian Liberals, brilliantly led into action by Robert Lowe, denounced the bill. John Bright likened them to those discontented persons who gathered about the outlawed David in the cave of Adullam; the group became known as the Adullamites, and the word *cave* was added to political terminology as a title for all similar groups of malcontents. But the Adullamites achieved their immediate object. The government only escaped defeat by five votes on a motion to suspend the Franchise Bill until a Redistribution Bill also should be before the House. Six weeks later, the cave carried an amendment substituting rating for rental as the basis of qualification. The ministry resigned. The only alternative was another Derby government, with which

The Adullamites.

the Adullamites refused to coalesce. For the third time an administration was formed with Lord Derby at its head and Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, which could only retain office by grace of an Opposition which was in an actual majority.

Curiously enough, though the introduction and discussion of Russell's Reform Bill had been treated with apparent apathy in the country, its rejection was followed by excited demonstrations. Incidentally, the prohibition of a meeting which was to have been held in Hyde Park caused the mob to break down Hyde Park railings, and though no very great damage was done a good deal of alarm was aroused. The demonstrations, however, impressed upon the new government the necessity for taking up the question on their own account.

Hyde Park railings.

When parliament met in February 1867, Disraeli took up the position that since each of the parties had failed to carry its own scheme of reform the question should not be treated any longer as a party matter at all, but should be dealt with, like the India Act of 1858, by taking the sense of the House on a series of resolutions and then passing a bill based thereon. To the Opposition the proposal appeared in the light of a trick on the part of the Government to evade responsibility. The resolutions were introduced, and their intention expounded. The idea was, that while the franchise was to be extended primarily by a £6 rating franchise in the boroughs and a £20 rating franchise in the counties, so as to create a substantial working-class vote, the balance between different classes of the community was to be preserved in order that mere numerical preponderance might not carry with it an undue political predominance. To the rating qualification were to be added four other qualifications: the possession of £50 in the funds, or £30 in the savings bank, payment of twenty shillings in direct taxes, and an educational qualification. It became evident, however, at once that the method of proceeding by resolutions would not be accepted, and the government was obliged to promise a bill of its own. At the last moment three members

The third Derby administration, 1866-8.

1867. Disraeli's franchise scheme, February.

of the government, including Lord Cranborne, afterwards marquis of Salisbury, resigned.

The scheme propounded by Disraeli had been prepared by him in the belief that it would conciliate this section. Since they had refused it their support he was prepared with a more sweeping measure. He carried the cabinet with him, the places of the ministers who had resigned were filled up, and the actual bill brought in on 18th March was by no means identical with that explained three weeks before. Subject to two years' residence, all ratepaying householders in the boroughs, and in the counties all occupiers rated at £15, were to have the franchise, the 'fancy' franchises were to be retained, and any one who was entitled to vote by the household franchise, as well as by a fancy franchise, was to be able to record a vote in each capacity. Gladstone and Bright, on the other hand, denounced plural voting and the principle of distinguishing between the direct and the compound ratepayer. In Gladstone's view, a £5 valuation should be the limit of the qualification both of the franchise and of the liability to rates. The lodger had as good a right to the vote as the householder.

The revised bill, March.

The progress of the measure described by the prime minister as 'a leap in the dark' was variegated. On both sides of the House there were all manner of cross currents of opinion, and Disraeli practically implied that there was hardly a point in the bill which he regarded as actually essential. In effect there was a prolonged struggle between the two party leaders, each seeking to get the support of a majority for his own view of each successive point. Gladstone's amendment for a £5 rating and franchise limit was defeated by a Liberal cave known as the 'Tea-room' party. On the other hand, the Government dropped the proposal for the double vote; the Opposition carried an amendment reducing the residential qualification from two years to one; the education and taxation franchises were eliminated; the £10 lodger franchise was introduced. In the counties the occupier's franchise was reduced to £12 and the owner's to £5. Disraeli had gone beyond Gladstone himself, in giving household franchise in the boroughs without

The progress of the bill.

the £5 limit. In the redistribution clauses, the population required for a two-member constituency was raised from seven to ten thousand. Four of the large towns, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Birmingham, were given three members, while the representation of minorities was secured by permitting each elector to vote for only two of the candidates. Eleven boroughs were disfranchised altogether, thirty-five more were allowed only one member, and a corresponding number of members were allotted among the counties and boroughs. The grand difficulty of the compound householder, the principle that no one ought to have a vote for parliament who did not personally pay rates, was circumvented by a clause abolishing the compound householder altogether in the boroughs—requiring, that is, that the householder should in all cases pay his rates direct instead of through the landlord. In the outcome, the one part of the Conservative Bill which was too democratic to please Gladstone and Bright was retained; but everything which Disraeli had put into it to counterbalance the numerical preponderance of the newly enfranchised classes was removed. At last, though still incompletely, the House of Commons was to be returned by a democratic electorate.

Exit the compound householder.

In February 1868, Lord Derby resigned on account of failing health; Russell had ceased to take any active part in politics after the defeat of the Liberal Reform Bill. Both those veterans had in fact become much less important personages than the leaders of the two parties in the House of Commons, Disraeli and Gladstone. When Lord Derby retired, there was no possible question as to his successor at the head of the government; Disraeli became first lord of the treasury. No important change took place in the personnel of the cabinet, nor did Disraeli follow up the Reform Act by fresh legislative efforts. Gladstone, in spite of his early defeat by the Tea-room party, which almost induced him to withdraw from the leadership of the Opposition, completely re-established his personal ascendency in the course of the debates on the Reform Bill, and it was he who actually commanded the House of Commons.

1868. Disraeli becomes prime minister.

Though Fenianism had been scotched, the condition of Ireland clearly demanded immediate attention. At the beginning of 1867 there had been a prospect that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act would end, and that Ireland would again be governed by the normal methods. In America, however, the Fenians resolved to carry the war into England. In Ireland there were some abortive insurrections, but the great coup was to be the capture of the military stores at Chester Castle. It was generally believed that some fifteen hundred persons had collected in Chester for that purpose on 11th February. Government, however, had received information. The arrival of a regiment of Guards showed the conspirators that their project was hopeless, and they dispersed, though some scores of them were arrested. The Irish government, however, with such evidence before them of Fenian audacity, felt it necessary to obtain a continuation of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Then in September, two Fenians were arrested in Manchester, the actual charge preferred against them being one of burglary. A desperate attempt was made to rescue them; one of the police officers in charge was killed, and three of the would-be rescuers were tried and hanged for murder, whereby they became known to their compatriots as the Manchester Martyrs. There were in fact attendant circumstances which warranted some sympathy for the men. In December there followed another outrage when an attempt was made to blow up a part of Clerkenwell prison in order to liberate a couple of prisoners. The prisoners did not escape, but four innocent people were killed and more than a hundred injured.

The Fenian effort, 1867.

The efforts of Fenianism were singularly ineffective, but they were at least convincing proof of the existence of an acute feeling of hostility to the existing régime. Gladstone, it would seem, was already convincing himself that the great task before him was the pacification of Ireland, and that the means to that pacification would be the removal of two grievances, the religious and the agrarian. It was not till a much later stage that he began to look upon the third grievance as a question demanding serious

1868. Gladstone and the Irish question.

consideration. The immediate conclusion which he arrived at in 1868 was that the Anglican Church in Ireland ought to be disestablished. Its endowments were in the main the endowments of the old Church before the Reformation, retained by what was technically the same ecclesiastical body after the Reformation. But, whereas in England the Reformed Church continued to be the national Church, to which the bulk of the population conformed, it had never been so in Ireland. It was possible to maintain plausibly that the endowments ought to have remained with the Roman Catholics. It was possible to maintain that when the State reorganised the Church, or recognised the reorganised Church as national, it was entitled to appropriate the endowments to that national Church. It was possible from a strictly secular point of view to maintain that it was always within the authority of the State to alienate those endowments for whatever object it might think fit; or, less drastically, that it might apply them for the benefit of other ecclesiastical bodies. But it was not easy to find any justification except that of prescription for appropriating them to a particular body which had severed itself from the mediæval Church, but had not become in any possible sense the national Church. And even if a master of dialectic could arrive at a demonstration that the Reformed Church was the old Church from which the Romanist priesthood had seceded, it was quite inconceivable that the mass of the population, who belonged to the Roman Church, would be persuaded to regard the endowment of Anglicanism and the disendowment of Romanism as anything but gross injustice. Already Roman Catholics had been freed first from the oppression of all the old penal laws, and then from their civil disabilities. If, then, the Anglican Church ceased to enjoy any distinctive privileges there should no longer be any religious grievance, and one of the standing factors of discontent would disappear. The disestablishment of the Irish Church would be the first step in the conciliation of Ireland.

The Irish Church.

The government in March 1868 announced its intention of introducing a Land Bill on lines suggested by the report of the

Devon Commission, which had been pigeon-holed for a quarter of a century. Of the Church question it spoke in very vague terms which were generally supposed to point to the suggestion of concurrent endowments. It would have nothing to say at any rate to confiscation. Gladstone, himself, a devoted churchman of an advanced type, who until recently had been looked upon as entirely hostile to disestablishment, now took the lead on the other side with a series of resolutions calling for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, 'due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property.' The first resolution was carried in April by a majority of sixty-five. Disraeli announced that he had proposed either to resign or to dissolve as soon as the completion of necessary business permitted, and that the queen had adopted the latter alternative. The appeal was to be to the new electorate created by the Reform Bill, and by the attendant bills for Scotland and Ireland. This postponed the actual dissolution until November. The majority against ministers was over one hundred; Disraeli resigned, and Gladstone formed his first administration.

Disraeli's Irish proposals.

General election, November.

During this period Prussia had fought in 1866 the short and sharp campaign against Austria which shut that power out of the German federation altogether, and set Prussia at its head; at the same time adding Venetia to the Italian kingdom. Lord Derby's government abstained from any intervention in this contest, although credit is due to the prime minister's son, Lord Stanley, the foreign minister, for effecting the neutralisation of Luxembourg, which threatened to be an immediate bone of contention between France and Prussia. In another quarter British intervention was invited and refused. The adventure which had made Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor, emperor of Mexico in 1864, was terminated in 1867 by his fall and execution at the hands of Mexican insurgents. Lord Stanley declined to regard the affair as one with which the British government was in any way concerned.

Foreign affairs.

It is, however, one of the penalties attached to an empire such as that of the British that it is repeatedly drawn into rela-

tions with barbaric or semi-barbaric powers which lead up to situations from which there appears to be no possible escape without a resort to arms. Such a power was Abyssinia, a Christian country lying at the southern extremity of the Red Sea. For some years British consuls had exercised considerable influence at the court of the negus or supreme king, Theodore; intervening with an activity not always judicious in native politics. During the Palmerston ministry, King Theodore addressed a letter to the queen which was left unanswered by Russell, who was then at the Foreign Office. Theodore's dignity was offended; he was annoyed by the pragmatical behaviour of the British consul, Captain Cameron; and in 1864 he shut up as many Europeans as he could lay hands on, including Consul Cameron, in the fortress of Magdala. A commission was then sent to demand the release of the captives; Theodore shut up the commissioners along with the other prisoners.

Abyssinia.

In the spring of 1867 the inevitable ultimatum was sent and was ignored. The inevitable expedition was prepared; the command was given to Sir Robert Napier, an Indian officer who had won a deservedly high reputation. The expedition was planned and carried out by him with consummate skill. His army of twelve thousand men, chiefly Indian troops, was landed at Massowa in January 1868. In spite of the difficulties of a mountainous country of which hardly anything was known, Napier reached Magdala in April, repulsed the Abyssinian troops at a cost of only nineteen wounded, and carried the fort of Magdala itself. Theodore died by his own hand, the prisoners were released, the power of the British arms was vindicated, and in May Napier was back on the Red Sea. Abyssinia had nothing whatever to do with India, but the British government discovered with a perverse ingenuity that as the business had been done with Indian troops, India ought to bear the cost. The only excuse that could be put forward was that the main object of the expedition was to confirm in Oriental minds the British prestige, which would have suffered seriously if the British military power had not been emphatically asserted.

The campaign in Abyssinia, 1868.

IX. The Empire, 1854-1868

Of the development of Australia during the years which followed the establishment of responsible government in the four colonies, no detailed account is necessary. The fifth, Western Australia, remained a Crown colony for many years. In 1858, however, the northern section of New South Wales, the Moreton Bay district, with its capital at Brisbane, had advanced so far in wealth and population that it was separated from New South Wales and made an independent colony with responsible government, under the name of Queensland.

Australia.

In New Zealand, on the other hand, there were further troubles of an active description, since the Maori problem had by no means been solved, and the great governor Sir George Grey was withdrawn at the end of 1853 to take charge of South Africa. The greater part of the north island was in the hands not of Europeans, but of Maoris; and among them there was a strong feeling against allowing any more land to pass into the hands of the Europeans. But they had quite sufficient warrant for believing that what they regarded as their rights would be overridden by the government in favour of the whites. Purchases were recognised which in the view of the Maoris who were leagued together were invalid; and in 1860 the determination took shape to reject the British sovereignty and assert independence under the leadership of the very able chief whose name usually appears as Waremu Kingi. The result was a prolonged struggle in which the Maoris showed a high degree of military skill and British troops met with several reverses, until the natives were at last worn down. Practically the war was over in 1867, though the last embers were not quenched until 1870; since which time active hostilities have ceased, and the decay of a once powerful race has destroyed all possibility of a racial struggle being renewed.

New Zealand.

In South Africa, after the Orange Free State had been cut adrift, there were repeated contests between that community and the wily Basuto chief Moshesh. Ultimately these quarrels were brought to a close by a final delimitation of

South Africa.

frontiers effected through the arbitration of the British governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse, acting on the invitation of Hendrick Brand, the president of the Free State ; an arbitration which was followed by the extension of the British sovereignty and British protection over Basutoland at the request of Moshesh himself in 1869. An episode, which occurred in 1857, during Sir George Grey's governorship of the Cape, deserves to be recorded, partly as in itself a terrible tragedy, and partly as an illustration of Kaffir superstition. The district of British Kaffraria, situated between Cape Colony proper and what was then its outlying province of Natal, was inhabited almost entirely by the Bantu or Kaffir tribes, of the group called Kosas. The series of Kaffir wars had at last inspired in the Kaffirs a reasonable respect for the British arms ; but the benevolent administration of the British government, being misunderstood, did not arouse a corresponding affection. There were a good many Kaffirs who wanted 'Africa for the black man.' There arose among them a sort of prophet, who proclaimed that a day of retribution was at hand when the spirits of the warriors of past generations would return to earth to lead their children to victory over the white man. Meanwhile, until the great day came, the Kaffirs were to set about the destruction of their flocks and herds and crops ; because on this Kaffir 'Day of Judgment' flocks and herds and crops should be divinely replenished. The Kaffirs heard, believed, and obeyed. They believed so thoroughly that the chiefs did not even think it worth while to make military preparations for wiping out the white man. The Cape government received intelligence of what was going on in Kaffraria, and set about making its own preparations both to deal with the attack when it should come and to provide for the famine which the Kaffirs were preparing for themselves. The great day arrived ; the last of the grain and of the cattle had been destroyed. Then came the appalling disillusionment. No warriors came back from the dead, no crops sprang from the soil, no cattle appeared. Too late the chiefs found that they could not organise war in twenty-four hours at the head of starving hosts. The Kaffirs poured over the border not to fight the white man, but

The Kosa Kaffirs, 1857.

to cry for food. The best that the government had been able to do fell far short of the necessities. At the very lowest computation, twenty-five thousand Kaffirs perished of sheer want. So tremendous was the depopulation that it became at once advisable to stock the country afresh with Europeans where before there had scarcely been a white man to be found. Kaffraria could no longer be treated as a purely native protectorate; in 1865 it was formally incorporated with Cape Colony.

Jamaica, 1865.

Jamaica in 1865 became the theatre of an insurrection to which reference has already been made because, unlike colonial affairs as a rule, it aroused a good deal of excitement at home. After the earlier crisis of 1839 the active troubles in that island quieted down. There was constant ill-feeling however between the whites and the very large coloured population, comprising not only the labourers, the emancipated slaves, but what might be called the middle class. The hostility of the natives, if they may properly be so called, to the whites reached a climax in October 1863, following upon sundry indignation meetings, at which an aggrieved coloured proprietor named Gordon indulged in Scriptural denunciations of the offending authorities which were probably more inflammatory than he intended them to be. A riot broke out, an attempt was made to arrest some of the rioters, the riot developed into a local insurrection which threatened to assume alarming proportions. Bands of insurgents began to spread over the island, and white folk up country had to flee for their lives.

Governor Eyre.

The governor, Edward Eyre, had proved himself in Australia to be a man of extremely humane and enlightened views in relation to the aborigines, and still bore the same reputation. But in Jamaica, the coloured population in insurrection were dangerous as Australian black-fellows could never be. The governor struck at once with the ruthless energy which he regarded as being in the long run the most merciful course which he could pursue. The insurrection was suppressed; but what caused excitement in England was the revelation of the severities and the informalities to which the

governor had resorted. Gordon himself was court-martialled and executed under martial law, though he had been arrested in a district where martial law was not proclaimed; and the evidence against him would certainly not have been accounted conclusive in any British court of law. There were over four hundred other executions under martial law, and more than six hundred persons were severely flogged, including a great many women. Also over a thousand dwellings were burnt down. Hence arose the demand that Eyre, who had in the first instance been thanked by parliament for his energy, should be proceeded against. The Jamaica Committee was formed to bring him to punishment, and a counter-committee for his defence. Public opinion on the whole was satisfied that the governor was justified in what he had done, and grand juries repeatedly refused to find a true bill against him. Ultimately parliament definitely exonerated him by resolving to discharge the legal expenses which he had incurred through the prosecutions.

The white man's burden.

The whole story is an outstanding example of the difficulty perpetually incurred where a ruling race is planted with controlling authority in the midst of a population of an inferior racial type; which when its passions are aroused can only be held under by brute force, and is not sufficiently sensitive to recognise even brute force unless applied with what presents itself to Europeans as positive cruelty. No one will challenge the propositions that where the white man rules over the coloured, the coloured man must be protected against tyranny, and that at the same time the superiority of the white man must be unmistakably asserted. But those two principles require to be kept perpetually balanced. The tendency of the powers on the spot when the crisis arrives is inevitably to give rigorous action the benefit of the doubt; whereas the tendency of civilised opinion at a distance is to judge by the standards applicable in a European community. Since the authorities on the spot have in the nature of things a bias towards the severity which vindicates authority, it is probably well that they can never fail to be conscious that they will be severely called to account at the bar of public opinion for

anything which *prima facie* has the appearance of an arbitrary abuse of authority.

Of far more vital importance in the history of empire than any of these episodes was the great change which took place in American colonies proper. The Act of Reunion following upon Lord Durham's report had joined the two Canadas under a single system of government, while still recognising a division between them. Responsible government had followed, and had been established also in the other four colonies proper, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (called the Maritime Provinces), Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. It did not extend, however, to the territories on the north and west of Canada. In Canada itself the position was not altogether satisfactory. The Union had not produced unification between Ontario and Quebec. The disposition was rather towards a severance. In the Maritime Provinces, however, there was a strong inclination towards closer union on a federal basis. There were at the same time leading Canadian statesmen who desired a compact union of the whole group of colonies, the most prominent of them being John Macdonald. But the antagonism between Ontario and Quebec stood in the way of such a compact union, and the solution was found in a scheme of federation.

Canada.

In 1864 the Maritime Provinces, with Prince Edward Island, held a convention for the discussion of the plan. The Canadian ministry sent representatives to the convention. The result was a scheme adopted by the two Canadas as separate bodies, and by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, for a federation; providing a central government for the whole group, but retaining State government for its several members. At the end of 1866, the Derby ministry being then in office with Lord Carnarvon as colonial secretary, a conference was held in London; the scheme was presented as a bill in the imperial parliament, and was passed on 29th March 1867 as the British North America Act.

A scheme of federation, 1864.

The central government consisted of the executive body,—namely, the Crown, represented by the governor-general and the privy council of the Dominion of Canada,—and the legis-

lature or parliament, a senate and a House of Commons. In the senate, Ontario and Quebec were to have twenty-four members apiece, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick twelve apiece. If Prince Edward Island should come in (as it very soon did), it was to have four members, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick each surrendering two. The senators were to be nominated for life by the governor-general on the advice of the council; the Crown having a reserve power, never actually exercised, of adding either one or two extra members apiece for Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces together. The House of Commons was to be elective, each of the provinces returning a number of members in proportion to its population. Money bills were to originate in the elective chamber. Further, each of the four provinces was to have its own lieutenant-governor appointed by the governor-general, and its own executive council and legislature. The specific characteristic of the relations between the provincial and the central government in Canada is that the central government exercises all powers except those expressly delegated to the provincial governments; whereas, in sundry other federal constitutions, the provincial or state government exercises all powers except those expressly transferred to the central government. A provision was also made for the admission of the other provinces to the Dominion. Manitoba came in in 1870; British Columbia in 1871; Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland, however, has never joined the Dominion.

The British North America Act, 1867.

The story of India has already in this chapter been carried as far as the crucial year 1858, and the proclamation issued on 1st November transferring the government of India to the Crown. The last of the company's governors-general became the first of the viceroys, with the task of inaugurating the new order. The proclamation 'breathing feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and prosperity following in the train of civilisation,' had an immense effect in restoring the confidence

India: The Royal Proclamation, 1858.

of the natives of India. It laid down in the clearest terms that neither class nor creed was to be a bar to admission to any office for which a candidate was otherwise qualified. It extended complete pardon to all who had not been actually concerned in the murder of British subjects or the protection of the murderers, and who had not been active instigators of revolt; and it promised a large indulgence to those who had been misled. The alarm of the Oudh talukdars was removed when they learnt that their proprietary rights, although technically forfeited, would be recognised in all but very exceptional cases.

Recognition of adoption.

Nothing, however, was more effective in the restoration of confidence, and the confirmation of loyalty among the native princes, than the definite announcement that thenceforth the right of adoption would be recognised, and that the doctrine of escheat or lapse, upon which Dalhousie had acted, would not in future be applied. Side by side with conciliation, the government adopted a permanent principle for the establishment of security. It was laid down that the proportion of native to European troops in the country should not materially exceed two to one, a ratio which would remove all temptation to the sepoys to imagine that they were masters of the situation.

The army.

John Lawrence, 1864-9.

In March 1862, Lord Canning left India a dying man. He was succeeded by Lord Elgin; who died in the next year and was followed by John Lawrence, the great ruler of the Punjab, who remained in India until his place was taken by Lord Mayo in January 1869. Lawrence's viceroyalty was not in general distinguished by great events within the peninsula; but beyond the borders it was notable for the marked display of the principle of 'masterly inactivity' or non-intervention. After the death of old Dost Mohammed, his third son, Sher Ali, was recognised as Amir of Kabul. He, however, was involved in severe struggles with his brothers before his dominion was finally established and his nephew, Abdur Rhaman, driven over the border. Lawrence steadily refused to intervene in these struggles. The Indian government recognised and treated with the *de facto* government

at Kabul; first, with Sher Ali when he succeeded, then with his brother Azil, by whom he was driven out, and again with Sher Ali when he recovered his supremacy. Under Lawrence, at least the old blunder of Lord Auckland was not to be repeated; although there was a rising school of statesmen who, with their eyes fixed upon the advance of Russia in Central Asia, were anxious at least for a strategic rectification of the North-West frontier which should convert the mountains into an absolutely impenetrable barrier.

X. Social

The second period of Queen Victoria's reign covered by the years from 1852 to 1868 witnessed no new departures in the methods of economic development. The Gladstone budgets were the logical, and complete application of the principle to which Peel had finally committed himself. They effected an immense change and were accompanied or immediately followed by an immense increase of national wealth, but they were admittedly continuous steps in the development of a trade policy already accepted. Similarly, industrial legislation consisted wholly in extensions of the principles already recognised in the existing Factory Acts.

Economic developments.

Those Acts had been designed with the single object of regulating the employment of women and children. Their opponents resisted them either on the ground that State intervention was an interference with the liberty of the subject, or that it was objectionable in principle from an economic point of view, or that it would be economically disastrous in the specific cases selected for experiment, or that it was unjust to select cases for experiment arbitrarily. Their advocates, on the other hand, claimed that so long as State regulation was applied only in regard to women and children, it was not an interference with the liberty of the subject, because women and children could not take care of themselves; that even admitting it to be true that State intervention is economically unsound, circumstances required that moral considerations

Principle of Factory Acts.

should override the economic considerations; that in the specific instances the actual economic result would be gain, not loss; and finally, that the process being necessarily experimental, common sense demanded that it should be applied in the first instance where regulation could be most easily enforced, and its effects most easily tested. Thus before the fifties the Factory Acts applied only to specified textile industries; in the following years they were extended to the rest of the textile and associated industries, and finally to all 'factories,' as defined in the Act of 1867, by which the term was made to cover any premises in which fifty or more persons were employed in any manufacturing process. There was still no departure from the principle that regulation should be directed to the protection only of women and children. The Act did not touch wages at all; and the men's hours of work as well as their wages remained exclusively a question of bargain between the employers and the operatives.

Their extension.

One other piece of legislation, however, marked the same year, when the Derby administration was in office, though it could scarcely be described as being in power. This was the Master and Servant Act, which dealt with a grave anomaly in the existing law, an anomaly wholly inconsistent with the theory that employers and employed were legally on an equal footing in making their contracts. As the law stood, the master who broke a contract could only be sued for damages, whereas breach of contract on the part of the servant was a criminal offence for which the servant could be imprisoned. Further, and as a consequence, when a suit was brought against the master for breach of contract, he could give evidence in his own favour, whereas the servant, being charged with a criminal offence, could not do so. The servant, moreover, might be summarily tried before a single justice of the peace; however fair-minded the average justice of the peace might be, it was impossible that he should not have a natural bias to the employer's point of view; and whenever the justice was not an exceptionally fair-minded man, matters were tolerably certain to go hardly with the employee. It was mainly due to

Master and Servant Act.

the persistent efforts of the Glasgow Trades Council, a committee of representatives of various trade unions, that the Master and Servant Act was procured, to remedy the worst features of the existing law.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers gave a new tone to the greater trade unions. For some years after the great strike there was a lull, the usual concomitant of a period of trade expansion. With 1857 there came another period of depression, and with the depression quarrels between the masters and the unions. The most notable of these was the contest in the building trades in 1859. The unions demanded a reduction in the number of hours in a working day. The masters refused unanimously. One firm dismissed one of the men who had personally taken part in the presentation of the demand. There was an immediate strike in that establishment, whereupon the masters in unison announced a general lockout, and declared that they would give no employment to any member of a union. The lockout was signalised by the fact that the unions were subsidised by other unions which were not directly concerned at all to the extent of £23,000; the engineers alone provided £3000—a remarkable proof of the strength and vitality of their organisation. The strike or lockout was terminated by what was a practical compromise. The demands of the men were not conceded, but the masters withdrew their refusal to employ union men.

Building trade strike, 1859.

The strike and the lockout are the industrial equivalent of open war between masters and men, and the unwisdom of open war from the point of view of both sides was emphasised by this contest. More unions were formed on the engineers' model, with the aim of perfecting organisation, of removing those legal disabilities of unions which restricted their power of collective bargaining, and at the same time of educating the political intelligence of the working-man. This educational propaganda was in a great degree responsible for the adherence of the British working classes to the cause of the Northern States when the American struggle was going on, and for the patient determination with which the Lancashire

The greater unions educational.

operatives endured the cotton famine. Again, it was the political character of those trade unions which enabled them to procure the Master and Servant Act.

Violence of small associations.

At the same time this new intelligent spirit was not universally prevalent. In a number of minor local unions, and especially in Sheffield, the patient methods of the great societies found no favour. Thus while employers were viewing with apprehension the development of powerful organisations with reserve funds which would make it necessary to think twice before engaging in contests with them, they and the public at large were generally inclined to attribute to trade unionism as a system all the evil characteristics of the small unions which were guilty of frequent outrages in imposing their tyranny upon the workers who refused to submit to their dictation. These iniquities, which were flagrant and gross, were resented quite as strongly by the great unions as by the general public; and when a particularly scandalous outrage at Sheffield brought about public demand for a thorough investigation, that demand was very emphatically endorsed by the union leaders.

Trade Unions Commission, 1867.

The outcome was a royal commission of inquiry in 1867, in which it was made perfectly clear that the highly organised unions were entirely innocent of the charges which had been brought against trade unionism in general, based upon the evil doings of the small uncontrolled associations. Yet just at the moment when the character of the unions was cleared, and it was proved that there was no justification whatever for their suppression by legislation—which before the inquiry had been looked upon as an extremely probable result—a legal decision deprived them of all efficacy. It had been generally supposed that a trade union's funds were secure—that it could proceed against any of its officials who appropriated them. But it was now pronounced that the unions themselves, so far as their constitution authorised the employment of their funds in contests with the masters, were combinations in restraint of trade, and therefore illegal; being illegal societies, they had no redress for the misappropriation of their funds. The report of the Royal Commis-

sion went no further than to recommend the recognition of the unions under the protecting Friendly Societies Act, provided that their constitution excluded from the object at which they aimed any restrictions on the use of machinery or piece-work, and did not permit intervention in external trade disputes. No immediate legislation therefore could be anticipated; but the investigation made clear that the primary need of the working-man was the establishment of the principles that acts committed by working-men should not be illegal unless they were illegal also for others than working-men; and that what was legal for one man to do should be legal also for a number of persons acting together to do. If those principles were recognised the unions would be freed from their illegal character, could be registered as legal associations, and would be able to protect their funds. But they would still remain powerless unless they were also secured from proceedings against them as corporate bodies, since they would otherwise be exposed to ceaseless litigation and expenses which it would be impossible for them to meet. Such was the position when the second Reform Bill gave to the working-man in the towns a voice in the election of parliamentary representatives. The extension of the franchise had been given by a Conservative government, but was felt to have been due to the Liberals more than to their opponents; and in the election of 1868 the weight of the new working-man's vote was cast on the side of the Liberals.

The inferences.

It has been observed already that, politically speaking, the nineteenth century falls into three eras, the pre-Reform period, ending about 1830; the period of middle-class supremacy, ending in 1868 with the election of the first democratic parliament; and the remainder of the reign of Queen Victoria; each of those periods falling again into two fairly well-defined and very nearly equal portions. Broadly speaking, it may be said also that to each of the larger political periods there corresponds a literary period; though the dates are more vague, and the great names overlap more. Although Wordsworth survived until 1850, and his great work was much more amply recognised in his latter years than in his richest period

Literature.

of production, the creative age to which both he and Scott belonged may be said to have ended with Scott's death. Before the end of the fourth decade of the century, two great poets had arisen, both of whom were still in the plenitude of their powers at the end of the seventh decade. Of those two, Tennyson and Browning, Tennyson is the typical representative of his age—its doubts, its aspirations, its faiths, its ideals. When upon Wordsworth's death in 1850 he was appointed to the vacant laureateship, his fame had already been long established by many shorter pieces, by *The Princess*, and finally by *In Memoriam*. Four years later both his strength and his weakness found their expression in the lyrics of *Maud*, and in 1858 appeared the first series of the *Idylls of the King*, which in more than one respect are the English equivalent of Virgil's *Æneid*. Browning's great plays had achieved no stage successes; his *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personæ* did not appeal to the popular taste which, while it could appreciate Tennyson, was still more easily satisfied by the simplicity of Longfellow, and had hardly ceased to believe that Martin Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* was a work of genius. In 1868, the *Ring and the Book* was still unpublished. Younger poets were entering the field. Classicalism of another kind than that of the eighteenth century found unique representation in the poems of Matthew Arnold, Romanticism in the resounding music of the verse in which Swinburne gave expression to moral and political ideas very terrifying to mid-Victorian respectability.

Tennyson and other poets.

In the ranks of the novelists, Dickens, who lived till 1870, leaving the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* uncompleted, and Thackeray, who died in 1863, leaving his last novel in a still less advanced stage, were joined by Mrs. Gaskell and George Eliot, though the world did not recognise a master when George Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel* was published in 1859. Charles Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth* has been called the best of all historical novels. Henry Kingsley and Charles Kingsley each wrote one book which is likely, in spite of defects, to retain a permanent place as a classic. Yet perhaps the work most absolutely characteristic of the period, the work

The novelists.

in which remote generations will find a common—and commonplace—type of the English life of the mid-Victorian age most faithfully photographed is the work altogether inferior from the intellectual or artistic point of view, of Anthony Trollope and Charlotte Yonge. The student of social conditions, however, may learn a more intimate knowledge of his subject from the pages of *Punch* and the pencil of John Leech than from any novelist.

In other fields of prose, John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle continued to hold a unique position, though a later generation is indisposed to accept the philosophy of either. **Historians and others.** Macaulay died in 1859 leaving his history still incomplete. George Grote's *History of Greece* was completed in 1856, and the twelve volumes of J. A. Froude's brilliant *History of England* from the last years of Wolsey to the rout of the Spanish Armada, appeared between 1856 and 1870. Before its completion a historian of a very different order, Edward Freeman, had begun his *History of the Norman Conquest*, though the great works of William Stubbs and John Richard Green in the field of English history did not appear till the following decade.

Following upon the Oxford movement and the defection to Rome of several of its leaders, headed by Newman, came the Broad Church movement, in which for some time the most prominent figures were F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley. **The Broad Church.** As the tractarian propaganda had culminated in the celebrated Tract XC, so did that of the Broad school in the volume of *Essays and Reviews*, published in 1860; its seven contributors included the famous master of Balliol College, Benjamin Jowett, and the headmaster of Rugby, Frederick Temple, who, at this time denounced as a heretic, was in the fullness of time destined to become primate of the Church of England.

But by far the most revolutionary event in the intellectual world since the publication of Newton's *Principia* was the appearance in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. **Charles Darwin.** Moreover, whereas Newton's discoveries differed from most epoch-making advances in science in being

perfectly acceptable to the most orthodox, the new biological theory put forward by Darwin appeared at first sight to be wholly destructive of the doctrine of revealed religion. Orthodoxy had been seriously alarmed when earlier in the century the geologists, and especially Charles Lyell, had demonstrated that the story of the Creation as told in the Book of Genesis was not literally true, and that the building up of the world had been a process extending over countless centuries. But it had still remained possible to believe, and the world did still believe, that the multitudinous species of living creatures, animal and vegetable, were actually created separately each after their kind; that the differentiation of species could only be accounted for by an act of creation. Theories had indeed been put forward of the transmutation of species, suggesting that the differentiation had been a gradual process, not a single creative act; but no satisfactory working hypothesis to account for the transmutation had been produced until Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace simultaneously arrived at the theory of Natural Selection or 'the survival of the fittest'—the name coined for it by Herbert Spencer.

The survival of the fittest.

Broadly speaking, according to the new doctrine particular qualities tend to be persistently reproduced by heredity in successive generations. Where the inherited qualities serve a useful purpose enabling the individual possessors to cope more successfully with their environment, they enable the race to survive in the struggle for existence. Differentiation is the outcome of the persistent reproduction of inherited attributes helpful to the preservation of the individual life and the propagation of offspring. Finally, the differentiation of man from the anthropoid ape is an example of the same process. Man is not indeed descended from monkeys, but man and the apes have a common ancestry.

The slow building up of the world, the gradual transmutation of species from primeval forms, their development even from a single original form, seemed possible to reconcile with the Mosaic cosmogony if not too literally interpreted; but that man should have been evolved by natural process and not specially

created by the Almighty in His own image, appeared to be the negation of the whole scheme of Christianity. The ecclesiastical panic was completely allayed before many years had passed; the evolution of man was found to be no more incompatible with Christianity than the movement of the earth round the sun. The conception of natural law as the expression of Divine Will making eternally for progressive development towards perfection involved a grander conception of the Divine Being than the episcopal definition of the 'moral and intelligent Governor of the Universe,' which so moved the contempt of Matthew Arnold. Nothing perhaps has done so much as Darwin's development of the doctrine of evolution to establish the idea that progress is the law of the universe; but for a time it undoubtedly tended to undermine Theistic creeds; and, in the economic field, to encourage the idea that all interference with unfettered competition is running counter to natural law.

CHAPTER VII. THE NEW DEMOCRACY, 1869-1886

I. Europe

Before entering on the career of the first British parliament representing a democratised electorate it will be convenient to review the European events which, culminating with the fall of Paris in 1871, created the modern German empire, excluding from it the power which for close on four centuries had exercised a hegemony in Germany; which completed the unification of Italy; which destroyed the second empire of France, and for the third time established a republic, which in spite of vicissitudes in its early years has become the most stable form of government enjoyed by France since the old monarchy of Louis XIV. began to decay at the heart in the reign of his great-grandson.

The European Revolution.

Germany since the Congress of Vienna had remained nothing more than a congeries of states loosely confederated, with no effective power of concerted action. Of the German states Prussia was the only one which ranked as a first-class power; for of the Austrian empire only a fragment was German, although Austria still claimed the traditional ascendency which legally belonged to the Emperors until the Holy Roman empire ceased to exist in 1806. Since the people of Prussia had headed the German uprising against the great Napoleon, Prussia had played no very dignified part in European history. But in the middle of the nineteenth century a statesman was rising to prominence who did not intend Prussia to continue playing a secondary part.

Prussia before Bismarck.

Bismarck's time came when William I. succeeded his brother Frederick William IV. on the Prussian throne in 1861. The new king was in his sixty-fourth year, but he was abundantly vigorous in body and mind. His political theories were

Bismarck.

autocratic; but as Victor Emmanuel was shrewd enough to take a cleverer man than himself as his guide and his minister, in the person of Cavour, so William of Prussia gave himself to the guidance of Bismarck. It was Bismarck's primary aim to thrust Austria out of Germany and to unite Germany under Prussian supremacy. In Prussia itself he could not create the military organisation he required, so long as the parliament had power to interfere with him. In effect King William and Bismarck treated the Prussian parliament, when it opposed Bismarck's scheme for military organisation, very much as Cromwell treated his parliaments when they insisted on discussing constitutions. The parliament was suspended; and the army was reorganised by Moltke and Albert von Roon. In a very short time the military machinery was brought to an extraordinary perfection quite unsuspected by Europe at large.

Bismarck and Austria.

Bismarck recognised no relations between ethics and politics. When he wanted a quarrel he picked one at a carefully selected moment, and with an unequalled skill in manœuvring his chosen enemy into the position of the aggressor. He found his first opening for setting this policy in motion over the Schleswig-Holstein affair. That imbroglio gave him an opportunity of testing the working of the military machine, and of inveigling Austria into a position which would provide him with an occasion for picking a quarrel as soon as he could feel confident of carrying it to a successful issue. By a convention between Prussia and Austria at Gastein in 1865, the administration of Schleswig was placed in the hands of Prussia and that of Holstein in the hands of Austria. Austria had too many internal troubles to allow her to suppress in Holstein, as Prussia suppressed in Schleswig, the party hostile to this arrangement. Bismarck had long before made sure of the friendly neutrality of Russia; now he provided himself with an ally upon the Austrian flank in the king of Italy, who was to be rewarded for his co-operation by receiving Venetia. Bismarck was quite satisfied that there would be no intervention from Britain, and his affectation of simplicity and bluntness enabled him to outwit the French emperor completely. Napoleon

was under the happy illusion that Prussia was about to plunge into a war which would be long and exhausting: then France would be able to intervene with friendly offices, secure the gratitude of Prussia, and get her own reward upon the Rhine.

Prussia, thus secured, protested in 1866 that the incompetence of the Austrian administration in Holstein was a menace to order in Schleswig. Disregarding the terms of the convention of Gastein, Austria declared her intention of referring the question at issue to the diet of the German confederation. In June the Prussian governor of Schleswig moved to occupy Holstein. Austria appealed to the diet to mobilise the armies of the confederation. The majority of the diet agreed. Prussia at once withdrew from the diet. On 15th June war was declared. On 3rd July the Austrian army met with an overwhelming defeat at Sadowa or Königgratz. On 26th July an armistice was concluded, and the Seven Weeks' War was over. On 23rd August the terms of the armistice were ratified at the Peace of Prague. An Austrian victory over the Italians at Custozza on 24th June made no difference in the result, and the king of Italy obtained the cession of Venetia.

1866. The Seven Weeks' War.

It was no part of Bismarck's programme to humiliate or penalise Austria; his object was to separate her altogether from Germany, and to strengthen Prussia in every possible way. This object was achieved by the treaty. Austria gave up Schleswig and Holstein; Hanover and Hesse, which, with Saxony had committed themselves to the Austrian side, were annexed by Prussia, while Saxony was reduced almost to a state of vassaldom. Frankfort and Nassau also became Prussian. The German confederation was broken up, and Prussia constructed a new North German confederation, comprising the states north of the river Maine. Of this new *bund* the king of Prussia was hereditary president, and also commander of its armies. Throughout the confederation the military system was co-ordinated with that of Prussia itself. The great southern states, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, were not included in the bund, but treaties were

The North German confederation.

made with each of them in effect securing their military support, and they were included in the commercial union or zollverein. Austria had neither part nor lot in any of these arrangements.

The French emperor found himself completely outwitted. The war instead of providing him with an agreeable opportunity for extending French territory on the Rhine had advanced Prussia, and converted it into a very powerful state with much more than a benevolent interest in the Rhine provinces. The emperor tried to get Luxembourg, but was foiled; the neutralisation of that province was in a great degree the outcome of the diplomacy of Lord Stanley, who succeeded his father as earl of Derby in 1869. **Napoleon III.**

Foiled on the Rhine, the emperor's policy in Italy served him no better in the long run. The kingdom of Italy was now complete, except for its severance from the papal dominion of Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter, still under the temporal power of the Pope. In 1867, Garibaldi attempted to repeat in Rome the methods by which the Bourbon dynasty had been expelled from Naples. Napoleon as the protector of the Holy See—afraid of the French clericals of whom the Empress Eugénie was a devoted adherent—crushed Garibaldi's attempt at the battle of Mentana, and garrisoned Rome with French troops; but by so doing he entirely alienated Italian sentiment.

All this was extremely satisfactory to Bismarck, who knew that French hostility was the grand obstacle to his cherished design for consolidating a German empire in which the king of Prussia should be actually and effectively supreme, not a merely nominal suzerain like the Hapsburg emperors of old. The man of 'blood and iron' meant to remove that obstacle by a war with France, which should be not merely decisive, but should shatter her power completely. Napoleon, too, knew that the war must come, though he dreaded it personally; but it was Bismarck who arranged the occasion for it so as to make it appear that France was the aggressor. Spanish affairs provided the opportunity. In that country the intolerable government of the Bourbon queen Isabella brought about a revolution and her deposition. Spain did not want a **The Spanish candidature.**

republic, but none of the Bourbon candidates for the throne was acceptable. It was resolved to procure a new king from a foreign country, and France was roused to extreme indignation when the crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a connection of the Prussian royal family, and also, on the mother's side, of the Bonaparte family. But the latter connection counted for nothing.

The prince accepted the Spanish crown with the approval of the king of Prussia. Then under pressure from Napoleon, who declared that a Hohenzollern could not be permitted to wear the Spanish crown, he withdrew his acceptance, again with the sanction of King William. But Napoleon was being urged forward by a war party which imagined that a march to Berlin would be a simple matter. There were ominous signs that the popularity of the empire and the dynasty could only be saved by a successful war. The French ambassador was instructed to obtain from King William a guarantee that the prince's candidature should not be renewed. William declined, stating that the whole incident was terminated by the prince's withdrawal. It is at any rate possible that common sense and the peace party would have carried the day at Paris; but Bismarck did not intend them to carry the day. His hour had come. The account of the communications between the king and the French ambassador issued to the German press by the chancellor conveyed the wholly unwarrantable impression that the ambassador had behaved insolently to the king, and the king had publicly turned his back upon him. The last meeting actually took place on 13th July; and on the night of 14th July the French government decided upon war.

The rupture, July 1870.

The first engagement took place at Saarbruck on 3rd August. On 2nd September the emperor with 80,000 men surrendered to the Prussians at Sedan. The French were completely outgeneralled and completely outnumbered. Prussia brought to bear not only the whole of the forces of the North German confederation, but also those of her allies of South Germany. The French fought heroic-

The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1.

ally ; in the great battles of Worth and Gravelotte during August they were completely defeated, with frightfully heavy slaughter on both sides, yet the heavier losses fell on the Germans. At the time when Napoleon surrendered at Sedan, Marshal Bazaine, with a great army of 150,000 men, was shut up in Metz. On the emperor's surrender a Republic was declared in Paris, which pronounced emphatically that no foot of French soil should be given up to the enemy. Nevertheless, on 20th September the investment of Paris by a Prussian army began ; before the end of the month Strassburg surrendered ; on 28th October Bazaine with his 150,000 men capitulated at Metz. Léon Gambetta appealed to French patriotism, and raised troops in the provinces ; but the struggle was hopeless. On 28th January 1871, Paris capitulated after a prolonged and exceptionally terrible siege. A National Assembly convened at Bordeaux appointed the veteran statesman Thiers head of the Republic ; peace preliminaries were signed in February, and the formal peace was ratified in May. Alsace and Lorraine were transferred to Prussia, and France was saddled with an enormous indemnity.

Meanwhile Victor Emmanuel used his opportunity. In the first month of the war the French troops had been recalled from Rome. In September, Italian troops entered the papal territory ; the Pope refused to yield, but after a bombardment on 18th September the king's troops occupied Rome on 20th September. A *plébiscite* of the population was taken, and pronounced overwhelmingly in favour of annexation to Italy. Rome became the capital of the Italian kingdom ; the temporal power of the Papacy came to an end ; the Pope remained in undisturbed possession of the Vatican, and of nothing more.

Rome the capital of Italy, 1870.

In France, the third Republic was established under the presidency of Thiers, who was succeeded in that office by the veteran Marshal MacMahon in 1873, though it was not till the presidency of Grévy, which began in 1878, that any general confidence in the permanence of the Republic was confirmed. This was one vital consequence of the war ; for between 1815 and 1870 France had witnessed the

The French Republic.

Revolution which restored the Bourbons: the Revolution of 1830, which set up the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe; the Revolution of 1848, which set up the second French republic; the Revolution of 1851, which in effect created the second empire; and the Revolution of 1870, which overthrew that empire, and set up the third French republic.

Yet still more vital than the Revolution in France, was the metamorphosis of Germany. While the war was still in progress, treaties were made with the southern German states which united them all with the northern confederation. By the assent of all the principalities, the king of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor on 18th January 1871 at Versailles. The unity of Germany as a federation of states under the definite supremacy of Prussia, with a strong central government, and forming one solid military power, was at last accomplished.

The new German empire.

II. The First Gladstone Administration: Ireland, 1869-1873

Gladstone was unfortunate in his selection of Robert Lowe as chancellor of the exchequer, fortunate in the return, though only for a short time, of Lord Clarendon to the Foreign Office. John Bright, though a wonderful orator and a noble personality, did not add to the administrative strength of the cabinet.

In the new parliament, the Irish question took precedence of all others. It was upon Gladstone's Irish Church resolution that Disraeli's government had been definitely beaten in the last parliament, and there could be no sort of doubt that that issue had been prominently before the electorate which returned a great Liberal majority. Gladstone unfolded his scheme without delay. There were two questions to be dealt with, different though closely connected, disestablishment and disendowment. To disestablish the Church meant to withdraw from it all special privileges, which it enjoyed on the hypothesis that it was the national Church. Palpably the Anglican Church was not the national Church; the only defence

1869. The Irish Church.

for its recognition rested on the argument that a Christian State ought to make profession of its Christianity; that it would cease to do so if it ceased to recognise a national Church. The Anglican establishment, therefore, was to be maintained because there was no other Church which could be established in its place. The Protestantism of the United Kingdom would by no possibility permit the establishment of Romanism in one portion of it. The Anglican Church, however, embraced not much more than half of the Irish Protestants; and the Irish Protestants, all told, were less than one-fourth of the population. In these circumstances, it was obviously absurd to continue the pretence that the Anglican Church in Ireland was the national Church of Ireland. Nor could it be claimed that Ireland was a part of England, and therefore the Church of England must be recognised as the Church of Ireland. The demand for disestablishment, therefore, was irresistible.

Disestablishment.

But the demand for disendowment was on a somewhat different footing. In the first place, there was at any rate a very strong case for believing that legally the corporation which enjoyed the endowments in the nineteenth century was the same corporation which had enjoyed them in the fifteenth. There was the clearly indisputable fact that at least all endowments since the Restoration of 1660 had been endowments of the Anglican Church. Whether or no the Post-Reformation Church was justified in its claim to be the Pre-Reformation Church, it had the prescriptive right of four centuries to the endowments. Looking at the position of the clergy from a purely secular point of view, they had taken up their profession in life on the assumption, warranted by the law, that the endowments were appropriated to their maintenance. On the other side was the argument that the endowments were drawn mainly from the land which had been saddled with them at a time when the Church was co-terminous with the State, and as a consequence of the fact that Church and State were co-terminous; that their retention by the Church when Church and State were no longer co-terminous was unjust; that in any case, as a matter of public policy,

Disendowment.

the State was entitled to resume them, and apply them as it should think fit; that as a matter of fact the Church to which only about one-eighth of the Irish people belonged, and to which a large proportion of them were positively hostile, was being maintained at the expense of those who were hostile to it as well as of those who supported it. Yet even if the right of confiscation were conceded, it was urged on the other side that the endowments had been made for the purposes of religion, and that to appropriate them to any purposes other than those of religion was to 'rob God.'

The Irish Church Bill.

The bill which was introduced at the beginning of March 1869 proposed to disestablish the Church, to separate it from the Church of England, abolish the ecclesiastical courts and corporations, and deprive the Irish bishops of their seats in the House of Lords. The clergy and laity of the Anglican Church in Ireland were to elect a representative Church body for its government, which body was to be incorporated by law. With regard to disendowment, the property of the Irish Church was estimated at £16,000,000. Of this about £8,500,000 was to be restored to the Church. Existing stipends would be continued for life, with option of commutation for a lump sum. A commission was to be appointed for the management of the restored Church property. The tithe rent-charge was to be redeemed by the landlords under an arrangement which would extinguish it in forty-five years. Churches and glebe houses in actual use formed a part of the restored property, though the money advanced by the State for their repair was to be repaid. Tenants of glebe lands were to have the right of pre-emption when the commissions decided on the sale of such lands. The State grants to Maynooth, and that to the Presbyterians known as the *Regium Donum*, were to cease at the same time, compensation being given out of the Church funds, amounting to about £1,000,000. There would be an estimated surplus of about £7,500,000, which was to be applied mainly to the relief 'of unavoidable calamity and suffering, yet not so as to cancel or impair the obligations now attached to property under the Acts for the relief of the poor.'

In the House of Commons the second and third readings of the bill were carried by majorities of 118 and 113 on 24th March and 31st May. Opposition to it was virtually confined to Anglicans in England and Ireland; Scottish Presbyterianism even in the Established Church was not fervently attached to the association of Church and State. Both in England and in Scotland, Nonconformists who stood outside the Established Church were apt to regard endowments other than of a purely voluntary kind as tending to destroy energy within the Church and to hamper spiritual independence, and were entirely unfavourable to the theory that the inequality of the Churches ought to be rectified by concurrent endowments —apart from the extreme aversion of the great majority of Protestants from any schemes involving the endowment of Romanism. The same spirit of hostility survived towards the Church of Rome which had made the Dissenters in the reign of James II. prefer suffering their own disabilities to purchasing release from them by the extension of the same act of justice or favour to Romanists. But among churchmen, both in England and in Ireland, there was intense hostility to a bill which they judged to be sacrilegious. There was a disposition to adopt the 'no surrender' attitude, to refuse all parleying with the enemy; but in the House of Commons resistance was vain.

The bill in the Commons.

The spirit of defiance concentrated in the House of Lords. Lord Derby—the old earl, whose death was but a few months distant—maintained stoutly that the queen could not assent to the bill without breaking her coronation oath. Lord Cairns, the lord chancellor of the last administration, claimed not only that the bill contravened the Act of Union, but made it of no effect. Other opponents of the bill, though not convinced by these constitutional arguments, regarded it as being so iniquitous as to warrant rejection in spite of the indubitable fact that the Liberals had been returned to power with a clear mandate of the constituencies to pass it. The debate on the second reading was one of exceptional brilliancy. The queen, though disliking the measure, urged both upon Lord Derby and upon the archbishop of Canterbury the

The Lords and the bill.

danger of forcing a serious collision between the House of Lords and a House of Commons which manifestly represented the will of the electorate. The two archbishops and two bishops abstained from voting. One bishop (St. David's) spoke and voted for the bill. Prudence prevailed with the majority, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 33.

But this did not end the matter. The opponents of the bill had their turn in committee. Amendments were carried which would have transferred some £4,000,000 from the surplus to the amount restored to the Church; and another amendment required that the surplus itself should be appropriated not to secular purposes but to concurrent endowment, the endowment of other religious bodies. When the amendments were returned to the House of Commons, the representative chamber would concede hardly anything more than a transfer amounting to £280,000. It appeared that the Lords intended to remain obdurate, and Gladstone himself was in favour of abandoning the bill, which would in effect have involved direct hostilities between the Houses. Nevertheless, the queen endeavoured through the mediation of the dean of Windsor to effect a compromise between Gladstone and the archbishop. More effectively, the Liberal leader in the Upper House, Lord Granville, held a private consultation with Lord Cairns; they found a way out of the impasse which they induced their colleagues to accept. In place of the appropriation of the surplus either to the purposes of secular relief proposed by the bill or to the concurrent endowments proposed by the peers' amendments, it was to be appropriated 'in such manner as parliament shall hereafter direct,' and property variously estimated at a value between £250,000 and £750,000 was transferred from the surplus to the Church. Thus modified the bill was passed.

The Lords' amendments.

The vitality of the Anglican Church in Ireland was increased rather than diminished by disestablishment and partial disendowment. The Act, however, was felt as a grievance by the Anglican community, while neither the peasantry nor the Roman Catholic priesthood were

Effects of the measure.

conscious of deriving any direct benefit from it. As a measure of conciliation it failed; and although it removed what must otherwise have remained a perpetual barrier between Anglicans and Romanists in Ireland, it did not in effect tone down religious antagonisms. The real religious grievance, the actual political ascendency of an aggressively Protestant minority, was an ascendency which, though it had long been deprived of its last statutory basis, had still survived in practice with undiminished force, not controllable by legislation. The Anglican establishment had been one of those abstract grievances of which in the total sum of grievances a great deal can easily be made, but of which the removal is very little felt.

The thing that touched the peasantry most nearly was the agrarian grievance. In Ireland as in England the legal relations between landlord and tenant were based simply upon contract. In England it was almost an accepted axiom that for the State to interpose between contracting parties was an economic enormity. It was generally assumed, that is to say, that all contracts were free bargains which both sides were equally free to accept or reject. The strictness of that doctrine had been so far relaxed that the Factory Acts recognised that bargains with women and children were not free contracts; but as far as concerned adult males there had been hitherto no relaxation of the doctrine. But in England, broadly speaking, while trade and manufacture were flourishing, both labour and capital were, comparatively speaking, transferable from one employment to another. If there was a great overplus of labour in one trade, there were openings for it in another. Applying the principle to land, the English landlord could not simply dictate terms to the tenant. The tenant himself was a capitalist in a small way; if he could not rent land upon tolerably satisfactory terms, he had it in his power to take to some other employment; and, on the other hand, it suited the landlord much better to have tenants who were capitalists in a small way. The system during the last hundred years had indeed almost wiped out the small holder, but it preserved tolerably satisfactory relations between the actual owner and

The land in England.

the actual occupier of the soil. The occupier got his land at a fair rent, that is to say a rent which allowed him a reasonable margin of profit. He usually held his land upon a long lease, and could reckon that if he spent money on improvements he was sure of a fair return. Also it was the established practice for the landlords themselves to spend money on maintenance and improvements; so that if thereby the value of the land was increased, they were morally as well as legally entitled to increased rents on the termination of the contract. But the justice of these conditions depended on the actual fact that the tenant was a free party to the contract; he was really free to refuse it.

The land in Ireland.

In Ireland the conditions were entirely different. Contracts were not free, because the competition for the soil lay between people who were bound either to remain on the soil or to emigrate. There was nothing corresponding to the class, so desirable from a landlord's point of view, of small capitalist farmers. The occupier was the peasant, who had no capital, and was obliged either to starve, to emigrate, or to promise whatever rent the landlord demanded. The practical result was that over the greater part of the country the occupier was a tenant-at-will, who could be ejected at short notice. The landlord in England had inducement to expenditure on improvements, because there was a degree of competition to keep good tenants. There was no such inducement in Ireland; landlords did not spend money on improvements—a considerable proportion of them indeed, even after the Encumbered Estates Act, had no money to spend—and if there were improvements, they were made by the tenant. But if the tenant made improvements, he had no property in them. There was nothing to prevent the landlord from saying that the value of the land had been increased and a higher rent must be paid for it. The tenant, being liable to ejection at short notice, had no remedy.

The Ulster custom.

But if this was the state of things generally, it was still not universal The Ulster custom prevailed in the province of Ulster; by that custom it was understood that the tenant would not be ejected so long as he paid his rent. Custom, not law, gave him security of tenure, and

protected him from having his rent raised on account of improvements which he had himself made; and custom also recognised his right to alienate his holding, transferring his own rights to another tenant. The Ulster custom in effect carried with it what were afterwards known as the three F's—fixity of tenure, freedom of alienation, and in some degree fair rent; securing to the tenant a return for his expenditure on improvements so long as he remained in occupation, and compensation for them from the new tenant if he elected to alienate his holding.

Broadly speaking, it was the object of the Land Bill, which Gladstone introduced early in 1870, to give the force of law generally all over the country to something like the Ulster custom. Where the custom actually did exist, it was actually to be given the force of law; so were analogous customs elsewhere. Where no such customs existed, compensation for actual improvement and compensation for disturbance—that is to say, for injury suffered from summary eviction—was to be paid by the landlord, except where the tenant was evicted for non-payment of rent. But fixity of tenure in England was generally conveyed by long leases; this was offered as an alternative to the Irish landlords, who, by granting long leases, were freed from the obligation of compensation. So far the system to be established was in effect one of dual ownership; that is, it recognised an ownership vested in the tenant as well as ownership vested in the landlord. But it was further sought to provide a method of establishing an actual peasant proprietary, the single ownership not of the landlord but of the actual occupier, by means of public loans to assist tenants in purchasing their holdings outright if they desired to do so. The new system would at any rate secure fixity of tenure and freedom of alienation, subject always to the regular payment of rent. It was assumed that the conditions generally would ensure fair rents as they did in England; such a breach of economic proprieties as direct intervention for fixing rents did not call for consideration. No material amendments were introduced into the bill; the most

1870. The Irish Land Bill.

debatable question was that of compensation for disturbance, which implied an actual proprietary right in the soil as distinct from proprietary right in the improvements. Disraeli's objection on this point was over-ruled by a large majority. The bill became law at the end of July.

Disturbances and coercion.

Neither the Irish Church Bill nor the expectation of the Land Bill had the pacificatory effect anticipated. The release of a number of the Fenian prisoners in 1869 was looked upon rather as a sign of weakness; and, just as in the case of Catholic emancipation forty years earlier, it appeared that measures commonly recognised as just, at least in intention, were actually concessions to a threatening agitation. If Fenianism had been throttled, its place was taken by an increasingly active agrarian secret society movement, financed, like that of the Fenians, by the American Irish. Agrarian outrages were growing in prevalence in 1869 and 1870, and the Land Bill was accompanied by a Peace Preservation Act, authorising the lord-lieutenant to proclaim districts in which the use of firearms was to be prohibited, increasing the powers of the police for searching dwelling-houses and arresting doubtful characters on suspicion, and strengthening the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates. In 1871 powers still more arbitrary were conferred for a period of two years, in consequence of the persistence of outrages. On the other hand, one other unsuccessful attempt at conciliation was made by the Irish University Bill of 1873; a bill which was defeated in circumstances presently to be recorded.

III. The First Gladstone Administration, 1869-1874

Demand for education.

The Irish Church question and the threatened collision between the two Houses of Parliament occupied the government during 1869, and in 1870 the Irish Land Bill; but in 1870 Irish affairs, important as they were, did not fill the entire field. The enfranchisement of the artisan class forced the question of education to the front. If the workingman was going to be the numerically predominant factor in

the electorate, it behoved the nation which was to be governed by him to see that he was fit to exercise his new function. Lowe had summed up the position in the phrase, 'We must educate our masters'; for although since 1839 government had made some provision for the assistance of education, it was obvious that a great deal more must be done than could be accomplished by voluntary effort with only trifling help from the State to support it.

W. E. Forster, the vice-president of the Education Committee of the Privy Council, though not a member of the cabinet, was the parent of the great educational measure of 1870. In the previous year a statutory commission had been appointed to revise the system of secondary education at the grammar schools, but this was a small matter as compared with the great problem of providing elementary education for the labouring classes. In 1870, elementary education was still provided entirely by the voluntary schools created and controlled by sundry religious bodies, of which the Church of England National Society was the most prominent. The schools were maintained by voluntary contributions, supplemented by grants from the State. The first grant of £20,000 was made in 1833; this was raised in 1839 to £30,000, and in 1846 to £100,000. By 1869 the grant had gone up to £500,000. In all the State-aided schools, the religious teaching was denominational, though modified by a conscience clause under which parents who so desired might withdraw their children from the religious lessons. But the school accommodation provided under the voluntary system was entirely inadequate. It was difficult enough for the existing schools to maintain a sufficient standard, and there were far too few of them to satisfy the necessary requirements.

The elementary schools.

The purpose of the new scheme, then, was not to displace the existing schools, but to supplement them by State schools. The State schools were to be under the management of local bodies, school boards, elected by town councils in municipal boroughs and by vestries elsewhere. The expenses were to be met in equal

1870. Forster's Education Bill.

proportions by local rates, government grants, and fees to be paid by the parents. The government code and the government inspection were to be applied both to the new board schools and to the voluntary schools. The school boards were to be authorised to frame bye-laws making attendance compulsory, and to establish schools where no fees were to be demanded from the child; but it was left to the local authorities to decide whether attendance should be compulsory, and whether it should be free. The most difficult of all the questions still remained to be faced, that of the religious education which was to be provided. The bill as framed left the decision on this point also to the local school boards.

Religious education.

There was a section of the Liberal party at that time specially associated with Birmingham, which objected to these three permissive powers vested in the school boards. They demanded that all the State schools should be free, that the attendance should be compulsory, and that the education should be entirely secular; religious education should be a thing apart, having nothing to do with the State. Apart from this group there was no strong demand either that education should be free, or that it should be compulsory. But while public feeling was very strongly opposed to the exclusion of religious education, there was a strong sentiment among Nonconformists that secular education was preferable to sectarian education; from their point of view, it was certain that Anglican influences would predominate, and that in the great majority of cases the religious education sanctioned by the local school board would be specifically Anglican. Their own children would be withdrawn under the conscience clauses, and they would be paying at the same time for the Anglican education of their Anglican neighbours. The difficulty of providing special instruction separately for the children of the members of different religious bodies was too great for a solution of the problem to be found upon those lines.

It seemed probable that Nonconformist opinion would be thrown on the side of secular education, when a way out was found through an amendment, known as the Cowper-Temple

Clause. The option of the local school boards was taken away and a regulation was substituted for it, requiring that simple Biblical instruction should be given without any denominational colouring, and without the employment of the formularies of any particular religious denomination. Parents who regarded this undenominational religious education as hurtful could withdraw their children under the conscience clause. Other modifications in the bill raised the age limit to thirteen years, and gave the election of the school boards to the ratepayers instead of to the town councils and vestries. Forster's Education Act, the name by which this great measure will always be remembered, became law in August 1870.

The Cowper-Temple Clause.

The two years following were decidedly damaging to the popularity of the Liberal government. It was in the first place presented with a dilemma, by the necessity for taking action upon the report of the 1867 commission with regard to trade unions. At the general election of 1868 the working-class vote had been cast for the Liberals, and they were naturally expected to recognise that fact in their legislation. But the party was still largely dominated by the ideas of the Manchester school. Where capital and labour were in opposition the ideas of the Manchester school were unfavourable to labour; that is to say, it was held to be economically wrong for the capitalist to be in any way controlled in the management of his business, whether by the State or by organised labour. As the outcome of the late commission, the trade unions had grasped the fact that, in order to make collective bargaining effective, it was in the first place necessary that the unions should acquire a legal status which would enable them to protect their funds in a court of law against malversation; secondly, that they must at the same time be protected against corporate liability; and thirdly, that in the event of strikes they were helpless unless they could, without transgressing the law, apply some form of pressure to deter other men from taking the places of the men on strike.

Government and trade unions.

A government bill was introduced in 1871, which was subsequently divided into two portions—the Trade Union Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The first of these measures was intended, and was commonly understood, to secure the two first of the trade unionist demands. The unions were permitted by it to register themselves, so that they could proceed against their officials for malversation; and they could not themselves be proceeded against at law. The second measure dealt with intimidation and coercion. Intimidation and coercion quite clearly ought to be illegal; not less clearly simple persuasion, whether of masters or workmen, should be recognised as legitimate; but the problem was to draw the line between persuasion and intimidation. The methods employed in the past by the ill-regulated unions, for instance at Sheffield, had been those of sheer terrorism. The revelations concerning them had horrified the public, which failed to discriminate. The tyranny of unions over non-unionist workmen was a thing not to be tolerated, and protection against such tyranny was the primary object of the new bill. Consequently, in drawing the line between persuasion and intimidation, it allowed only the narrowest possible margin for persuasion, and in effect endorsed all the legal decisions condemning any overt methods of dissuading men from working where a strike was in progress. The Act did not in effect alter the law as it had been interpreted by the judges; it gave those decisions statutory endorsement. But the practical effect of the two Acts taken together was that the employers were angry because they regarded the first as dangerously increasing the power of the unions, while they were not mollified by the second; whereas the union men found that by the second Act they were definitely forbidden to take any of the steps necessary to make a strike effective; so that they, too, were turned against the government.

1871. The government trade union measures.

Unpopular also at the time were the administrative reforms in the army introduced by Cardwell at the War Office; reforms generally denounced at the time by military men, though as time passed the unfavourable verdict was completely reversed.

The revelations of inefficiency in the system at the time of the Crimean War had necessitated some reorganisation; but the startling success of the German arms in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 forced the question to the front. Cardwell's reforms brought the whole organisation of the army under the control of the secretary of state for war, so curtailing the powers of the commander-in-chief, who had hitherto stood in an exceptional relation to the Crown. The continental practice of compulsory military service was rejected; but the attraction of enlistment was increased by a short-service system, under which the men were to serve with the colours for six years, and to spend another six in a special reserve, which did not prevent them from taking up civil employment; whereas under the old system they had enlisted for twelve years with the colours, and were encouraged to enlist for another nine years when their time expired.

Cardwell's army reforms.

Not less notable was the abolition of purchase, the system by which the admission of officers to the service and their promotion had been controlled. Commissions were to be obtained by open competition, and promotion was to go by seniority. The officers, however, who had entered the army under the old system, were to receive the equivalent of the price paid for commissions. The bill abolishing purchase preceded the bill for army organisation. It was passed in the Commons, but in effect rejected by the Lords. But a statute of 1808 had conveyed to the Crown the power by which the purchase system had been established under a royal warrant. The Crown had beyond all question the legal power of cancelling the warrant under which the system was established. Gladstone took the extremely audacious but indubitably legal step of over-riding the opposition of the Lords and abolishing purchase by royal warrant. No one could have complained if, in the first instance, the thing had been done by royal warrant without introducing a bill; but there was justification for the contention of the Opposition that to fall back upon a royal warrant because the House of Lords exercised its constitutional right of rejecting a bill was an abuse of the

Abolition of purchase.

constitution. Even Gladstone's supporters were made uneasy by the method employed for obtaining a reform as to the desirability of which in itself they had no doubts at all.

Again, irritation was created by Lowe's budget. Money was wanted to give Cardwell's reforms effect. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to raise it in the first place by a small increase in the income tax. But he wanted more than a penny and less than twopence, so he proposed to impose it in the form of a percentage, which annoyed the public who were accustomed to calculate so many pennies in the pound, but not so much per cent. Then he wanted to increase the succession duties, whereby he irritated property; and finally, he proposed a small tax upon matches, which created a somewhat absurd excitement. The chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged ignominiously to withdraw his scheme and to content himself with a simple twopence added to the income tax; but the general effect was damaging to the reputation of the government, which was not retrieved by the removal of the extra impost a year afterwards.

Lowe's budget.

Then in 1872 the ministry tried its hand at one of the most dangerous of experiments, a bill dealing with public-house licences. The bill enraged the licensed trade without pleasing temperance reformers. And the government did nothing to regain popularity by passing in the same year the Ballot Act, which, as a matter of fact, made it certain that no one could possibly tell on which side an elector gave his vote except by his own admission. Yet even after forty years there are still many electors who remained unconvinced of the secrecy of the ballot, and it was only to a very small degree that the Act served as a check upon bribery.

1872. A licensing bill.

The Ballot Act.

One after another the domestic measures of the government, whether they were good or bad, served only to weaken their hold upon public support. Still more destructive was its record in foreign affairs. During the Franco-Prussian War it preserved a strict neutrality. Both France and Prussia, like the North

Foreign policy; the Franco-Prussian War, 1870.

and South in the American War, were extremely aggrieved—France, because Britain did not intervene in her favour, Prussia, because she commended moderation to the victors. Public opinion in England, at first vehemently hostile to France, afterwards hostile to Prussia, considered that British influence ought somehow to have made itself felt. On the main issue, the government certainly did not deserve reproach; but on a side issue of great importance which sprang out of the war it suffered a grave defeat. Russia seized her opportunity to repudiate the 1856 Treaty of Paris. She announced that she no longer intended to be bound by it as concerned the clauses neutralising the Black Sea, and interdicting warships on its waters. In fact, there was nothing to be done, unless Britain chose to plunge single-handed into a war with Russia in order to maintain the neutralisation of the Black Sea, which in itself was a question of indifference to the other powers. Practically all that was open to Lord Granville was to protest against the pretension that a single power was at liberty on its own account to tear up a treaty to which all the European powers had been parties. A modification of the Paris treaty could only be made by the powers in conference. This was doctrine to which Russia could hardly object, especially as there was every reason to believe that a conference would sanction her claims. The conference was duly held in London after Bismarck had shown his predilection in favour of Russia by suggesting St. Petersburg. The Russian expectations were fulfilled; Britain was the only power which desired to preserve the treaty intact. Russia got what she wanted, and Granville got nothing beyond the formal recognition of the principle that a general assent must be obtained for the abrogation of a general treaty. The one actual gain of the Crimean War was taken away (March 1871).

1871. The Black Sea Treaty.

Hardly more satisfactory in the popular judgment was the pacific settlement by arbitration of the outstanding question of the *Alabama* and the other claims put forward by the United States. The British government had expressed readiness to discuss compensation for private losses

The 'Alabama' claim.

incurred by the conduct of the cruisers. The United States demanded compensation for a great deal besides private losses, vaguely estimated at £400,000,000. This was obviously ridiculous. In 1871, however, it was agreed that a joint commission should meet in Washington to discuss the whole matter. The British commissioners proposed that such questions as could not be at once adjusted should be submitted to arbitration, without prejudice to the British contention that in a strictly technical point of view no claim to compensation existed. By the Treaty of Washington, which was adopted on 8th May 1871, sundry outstanding disputes between the United States and Canada were adjusted. The still open question as to the western boundary in the neighbourhood of Vancouver Island was to be referred to the German emperor for arbitration. The question of the cruisers was to be referred to a tribunal of five persons nominated by Great Britain, the United States, and three states presumed to be impartial, namely, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland. The British consented to waive counter claims in respect of Fenian raids into Canada, and to allow, for the purposes of the arbitration, the recognition of a principle which heretofore had no place in international law, but had just been adopted in the Foreign Enlistment Act, which penalised the building of ships for use by a foreign belligerent power. The United States then declared their intention of insisting upon submitting the preposterous ' indirect claims ' to the Geneva Court of Arbitration ; and a final breach was only avoided when the court itself pronounced that these claims did not fall within the scope of the treaty. The arbitration, therefore, resolved itself into the award of compensation for direct damage done by eight cruisers. In respect of five, the claims were dismissed by the court. In respect of one, the *Alabama* herself, the court was unanimous. In respect of the other two, the *Florida* and the *Shenandoah*, the British arbitrator differed from his colleagues, but was over-ruled. The award finally fixed the total of compensation at £3,250,000.

1871. Treaty of Washington.

1872. The Geneva award.

British opinion held, as a matter of course, that the award was

unfairly favourable to the United States. The award of the Emperor William on the Vancouver question adopted the United States view; and the settlement of the Canadian Fisheries question in the Treaty of Washington itself was regarded by Canadians as unfair to Canada. Popular opinion also judged that the treaty had gone too far in its concessions as to the terms of the arbitration. Again the government lost credit, although it had done infinite service, not so much by averting war at the time as by setting the precedent of voluntarily referring international disputes to impartial arbitration. For the moment, however, the result tended to establish the conviction that any foreign tribunal, or tribunal consisting chiefly of foreigners, was quite certain to enter upon its duties with an anti-British bias.

Popular disapproval.

The Geneva award was given in September 1872. At the beginning of 1873 Gladstone introduced a University Bill for Ireland. In England the last religious tests had just been abolished at the universities in the face of strong opposition. In Ireland, the antagonism of creeds offered an educational problem even more difficult of solution than in England. The attempt was now made to create a single Irish university, to which the existing colleges were to be affiliated. The university was to be undenominational, and consequently it was to be precluded from the teaching of theology, mental and moral science, and modern history. The scheme was denounced on all sides, though for different reasons, by Irish Protestants, by Roman Catholics, and by English Nonconformists. The bill was defeated by a majority of three. Gladstone resigned, Disraeli refused to take office, and neither party was anxious for an immediate dissolution. A week after his resignation Gladstone reluctantly resumed office.

1873. Irish University Bill.

Only one measure of importance was recorded in the year, a Judicature Act reorganising the Courts of Justice; it established a Supreme Court having two branches, the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal; the High Court having three divisions, King's Bench, Chancery, and a third covering Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty. Ultimately

Judicature Act.

the separate position of the House of Lords as the final Court of Appeal received statutory recognition. The Act is associated with the name of Lord Selborne.

The Ashanti expedition.

In the latter part of the year, it was found necessary to send a small expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley to deal with the king of Ashanti, who had been attacking the British Protectorate on the Gold Coast. The commander and his troops did their work admirably; but before it was finished the Gladstone government had ceased to exist.

1874. The government's record.

In January 1874 the prime minister determined on a dissolution and an appeal to the country. He was apparently under the impression that his position would be strengthened. The finances were in a satisfactory condition, and he announced that the long-desired moment had come when the income tax could be taken off altogether, while a sufficient compensation was to be extracted from an increase of the succession duties. In the course of the administration £12,000,000 of taxation had been remitted, £26,000,000 of the National Debt had been paid off, and in 1873 the income tax had actually been reduced to threepence, the lowest figure on record since its first imposition. The government had to its credit an immense legislative achievement; though opinions might differ as to the merits of its legislation. The disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish Land Bill, the Education Act, and the reorganisation of the army, were measures each of which individually would have made an administration remarkable. Not less striking was the appeal to arbitration in the *Alabama* case. Yet none of these measures excited popular enthusiasm. Remission of taxation does not add to popularity as increase of taxation detracts from it. The *Alabama* arbitration might be looked upon as an experiment courageous to the point of heroism; but it could also be portrayed along with the new Black Sea Treaty as a painful proof of diplomatic feebleness. For the rest the government measures had aroused the anger of capitalists and of trade unionists; they had stirred the hostility of that very powerful organisation, the licensed trade; churchmen could not forgive

the spoliation of the Irish Church; Nonconformists thought the Education Act too favourable to churchmen. There was no single section of the community which felt that its own particular interests had been positively advanced; even the promise that the income tax should be removed could be denounced as a mere electioneering trick. The disappointed leaders of the trade unions took their revenge by running a number of independent candidates, of whom only two won seats, but nearly all the rest succeeded in diverting a sufficient number of votes to transfer the contested seat from the Liberal to the Conservative candidate. When the new House of Commons met, the Opposition had a solid majority of fifty—the first Conservative majority since it had been dissolved by Peel's adoption of Free Trade. Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli became prime minister for the second time.

Dissolution and defeat.

IV. Disraeli's Second Administration, 1874-1880

The reforming energies of the Gladstone ministry more than exhausted the immediate enthusiasm of the electorate for political changes; it had already exhausted the capacity of the Liberal party for cohesion. Long before his term of office was over, Gladstone was highly irritated by what he regarded as party disloyalty, the disposition of members to break away. From the moment when he resigned office he was anxious to be freed from the strain of party leadership, and believed himself to be anxious for a political repose which he was quite incapable of enjoying. For the time being, however, he consented to retain the leadership.

1874. Gladstone.

Disraeli, on the other hand, embarked upon his second administration with clear skies and favouring breezes. Storms were not to be anticipated. There was no demand for heroic measures such as would arouse contentious passion. The nations of the Continent were at peace; our quarrel with America had been settled; an understanding had been arrived at even with Russia in respect of her advance in Central Asia. The prime minister was at the head of a reunited

Disraeli's cabinet.

party; Lord Derby at the Foreign Office commanded general confidence. In 1867 Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon had revolted when the old Lord Derby and Disraeli took their leap in the dark; but they accepted the *fait accompli*. Cranborne, who had become marquess of Salisbury, went to the India Office, and Carnarvon took the Colonies. An able home secretary was found in the person of Richard Cross; Sir Stafford Northcote, the chancellor of the exchequer, was of proved financial ability, besides being happily endowed with a personality which inspired the affection of political opponents as well as supporters. No one as yet realised that a new parliamentary factor had come into existence destined to play a very important part, the organised group of Irish Home Rulers, fifty-eight in number, who were as yet under the by no means aggressive leadership of Isaac Butt. The movement was not separatist like Fenianism, though in effect Irish Separatists supported it; rather it was a variant upon O'Connell's Repeal movement, professedly constitutional in its methods, aiming primarily at the establishment of an Irish legislature in Dublin; while its representatives aimed at controlling Irish legislation and Irish administration, pending that solution of the Irish problem.

The Home Rule Party.

Drastic legislation then was not to be looked for from the new Conservative government. It had not yet been suggested that a party coming into power should repeal or subvert the measures of its predecessors in office. Vehemently as the Conservatives had opposed Irish disestablishment and Army reorganisation, those questions were regarded as settled. Ecclesiastical questions attracted immediate attention. A Public Worship Regulation Act in England, due to the obvious fact that no existing authority was able effectively to control the ceremonial idiosyncrasies of the clergy, established a special judge for ecclesiastical causes—for dealing, that is, with complaints of breaches of ecclesiastical law, the bishop in each case having the right to veto proceedings. The bill received very general support from Protestant sentiment, because it was in effect directed against the introduction

Public Worship Regulation Act.

of practices which were looked upon as papistical; but it was resented in clerical quarters, as subjecting ecclesiastical questions to lay jurisdiction, which to most laymen appeared to be the logical corollary of the privilege of establishment. Gladstone entirely failed to carry the Opposition with him in resisting the measure.

Nor was he more successful in the case of the Scottish Church Patronage Bill, whereby the Established Church in Scotland procured the abolition of lay patronage, to which the Disruption and the creation of the Free Kirk had been due. The Free Kirk naturally resented the proposal; their ministers had surrendered the endowments precisely on account of lay patronage; if now the establishment recognised that it had then been in the wrong, it was not justified in keeping the endowments to itself. Justice required a measure of reunion and reinstatement. In spite of the support given by Gladstone to the Free Kirk contention, parliament remained unmoved. The measure was a proper measure in itself, and was not made improper by being belated. So the Free Kirk protest was ignored and the Act was passed.

Church Patronage (Scotland) Act.

A third measure proposed in part to reverse the Endowed Schools Act of the last government, and to restore to the control of the Established Church in England a number of the schools endowed prior to 1661, which that Act had deprived of their denominational character. The relation between endowments and the year 1661 arises from the fact that the existence of religious bodies outside the Church was not recognised before that date, so that endowments with a religious object, such as all schools were, necessarily connected the school with the Established Church; not because the person who left the money wished to endow that particular church, but because he had no choice. This proposal, however, reunited the whole Opposition and alarmed a good many Conservatives; consequently the government dropped it out of the bill, and contented themselves with placing the schools in the hands of the charity commissioners, and merely abolishing the special Endowed Schools Commission.

Endowed Schools Bill.

Legislation on behalf of the working classes had hitherto been connected in no greater degree with one of the political parties than the other. If Liberal governments had passed the Factory Acts, the initiative had come quite as much from philanthropic Tories as from advanced Radicals. Official Liberalism, while hostile to all that is recognised as class privilege, was ultra-individualist; the Conservative party, whose education Disraeli had taken in hand, believed with entire conviction in the essential differentiation of the social strata. Benevolent Conservatism desired earnestly to ease the lot of the 'lower orders,' provided always that they were duly kept in their place. But politicians in the Conservative party were aware that the Franchise Act had made the working-class vote a political force which it was expedient to conciliate. Official Liberalism had shown no disposition to conciliate the working-class vote, and in the general election that vote had been one of the most important factors which gave the Conservatives their majority. It was the turn of the Conservatives to show that they were the true friends of the working-man.

The parties and the working-man.

The year 1875 then was a fruitful one; for the Government was exceedingly strong while the Opposition was exceedingly weak. Gladstone formally withdrew from the leadership of his party, which in the House of Lords remained with Lord Granville, and in the House of Commons devolved upon Lord Hartington. Perhaps the most notable event was the unexpectedly complete victory of the Trade Unionists. All that they had demanded and failed to obtain from the Liberals was now conceded. The late Criminal Law Amendment Act and the earlier Master and Servant Act of 1867 gave place to the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act and the Employers and Workmen Act. These two measures definitely placed the employer and the employee on the footing of two equal parties to a civil contract—a change significantly expressed in the title of the Act which dropped the terms master and servant. At the same time, they so amended the law of conspiracy, which the courts had made so

1875. The trade union triumph.

effective an instrument in the hands of employers, that it was made legal for men acting in concert to do anything which was legal for a single individual. Peaceful picketing was definitely sanctioned; that is, it became definitely legal to post men outside works where a strike was in progress to dissuade other workmen from entering them, provided that no actual intimidation were employed. It was not till a considerably later date that the courts found themselves obliged to enforce on technical grounds an interpretation of these Acts and of the Liberal Trade Unions Act which was undoubtedly other than had been intended when the Acts were framed.

Another step in factory legislation was the adoption of a Nine Hours Act for women and children in the cotton trade, initiated at the instance of the men, because they justly calculated that it would inevitably be accompanied in practice by a reduction in the hours of adult male labour. **A Nine Hours Act.**

State intervention was still viewed with apprehension. Two measures of this session provided something in the nature of a new departure. The Agricultural Holdings Act theoretically enforced the payment of compensation to a tenant at the close of his tenancy for capital expended upon his holding. Practically it did nothing more than recognise the abstract desirability of the payment of compensation, since landlord and tenant could contract out—that is, they could make a contract freeing the landlord from his liability under the Act, so that in effect the Act itself was almost a dead letter. In the same way the Artisans' Dwellings Act asserted the very sound principle, that corporations of large cities should have power to acquire compulsorily buildings or land for the purpose of providing decent habitations. But again the actual effect was small, because the measure was merely permissive. If the corporations were not disposed to acquire insanitary areas and make them sanitary they were not required to do so. Hence, the inducement to undertake such operations being small, this Act also to a large extent remained a dead letter. **Permissive legislation.**

The year, however, was not without its sensation. In 1869, a canal had been opened from Port Said to Suez, connecting

the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. Its construction had occupied ten years; it had been mainly the work of its French projector, Lesseps. The capital sunk in it had been mainly French; for Palmerston had turned a cold shoulder upon the whole project, judging that even if it were successful it would be in effect under French control, and would be utilised in the interests of France. As he did not want it to succeed, he would have nothing to say to it; but it did succeed, with the result that the controlling interest in it was held first by the khedive of Egypt, and next to him by the French shareholders; although the shipping which passed through it was mainly British, and its primary value was as a route to India. In 1875 the Khedive Ismail was in serious financial straits; and it occurred to him to escape from his difficulties by selling his interest in the Suez Canal. Disraeli learnt of this intention, and also that the khedive was about to make his offer to France. If the French purchased the khedive's shares, the control of the canal would be completely in their hands. On 25th November 1875, the world was startled by the announcement that the British government had purchased the khedive's shares for the sum of £4,000,000. Merely as an investment, the stroke was more than warranted; at the present time the shares are producing an interest of about twenty-five per cent. But the purchase almost converted the canal into a British concern—and the canal was the high road to India.

The Suez Canal shares.

After 1875 domestic legislation was practically suspended. Public interest was beginning to be absorbed in external affairs, and in parliament the time had arrived for the Irish Home Rule party to make itself felt. The government was deaf to their demands for a revision of the 1870 Land Bill, with a view to preventing the methods of evading its provisions or intentions which the landlords had discovered. The mild methods of the Irish leader did not satisfy his more warlike followers, and under the guidance of Charles Stewart Parnell they developed a system of obstructing all business by a skilful abuse of the rules of the House, such as was without any pre-

The Home Rulers.

cedent in the history of parliament. In 1876, however, the actual leadership had not yet passed to Parnell, and the new aggressive movement was only in embryo.

The Suez Canal sensation was soon followed by another. Early in 1876 Disraeli introduced the Royal Titles Bill, by which the style of Empress of India was added to the titles of Queen Victoria. Disraeli, with a keener perception of Oriental sentiment than is common in England, was anxious to create in the mind of India an impression of magnificence and power more picturesque, appealing more to the imagination, than the mere practical strength and justice of the Indian administration. Probably he was right. Something had just been effected by the tour of the Prince of Wales in India and its attendant displays. According to Indian conceptions, an emperor means something greater than a king, and a real value was attached to the new title of Kaisar-i-Hind. In England, however, the idea met with little favour. During the last century Europe had seen two French empires, neither of which had lasted twenty years, and the arrival of a new German empire of which the durability had not yet been put to the proof. In British minds, imperial titles were at a discount; but Disraeli got his way, very much to the satisfaction of the queen herself. The prime minister probably reckoned, not without reason, that with a Russian Kaisar looming behind Afghanistan, it would be as well to have a British Kaisar reigning in Hindustan.

1876. Empress of India.

In relation to Russia's policy, the mantle of Palmerston had fallen upon Disraeli, not upon his foreign minister, Lord Derby, nor upon Gladstone's foreign minister, Lord Granville. Russia had beaten Granville over the Black Sea question, and had certainly not been foiled by him over the Central Asian question. Now the Turkish question was coming to the fore again; but Disraeli did not leave the management of it to Lord Derby.

1875. Russia.

Turkey had in effect done nothing whatever to carry out the promises made in 1856. Troubles in the Balkan provinces had never ceased. British diplomacy had not been exerted to

bring pressure upon the Porte, but Russia had certainly not been inactive in assuring the Porte's Christian subjects of her own goodwill. Whether she actively fomented insurrection is a question which will never be answered; but in 1875 insurrections broke out in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time Turkey practically announced her bankruptcy, and it appeared necessary that the powers should once more intervene. At the end of December Austria issued the note which bears the name of her chancellor, Count Andrassy, which received the general approval of the powers. It invited the Porte to set on foot a series of long promised reforms, and to entrust the execution thereof to a special commission. The sultan with cheerful promptitude promised very nearly everything; but the insurgents wanted something more than Turkish promises, and the note provided no material guarantees that they would be carried out. The sultan argued that it was unreasonable to expect him to set about reforms while the rebels were in arms. Not only did the rebels remain in arms, but in April Bulgaria also revolted. Thereupon the three emperors proposed to issue another note of a more peremptory character, threatening armed intervention if its terms were not complied with. France and Italy assented. The British government resented the action of the three powers in preparing the note without consulting Britain, and declined to endorse it. Violent disorders broke out in Constantinople, ending in the deposition and death, by his own hand or otherwise, of the sultan. Clearly, the imperial chancelleries, on the one hand, had assumed that they could act independently of Britain; not less clearly the Turks were under the impression that they could count upon British support. And this latter impression was intensified when a British squadron was dispatched to Besika Bay. This was done by the desire of the British ambassador, not by way of a threat, but in case the disturbances at the capital should necessitate intervention for the protection of life and property. But while this reason was a quite sufficient one, it appeared to be merely the cloak for more aggressive designs.

The powers and Turkey.

1876. Disagreement among the powers.

Before June was over a new complexion was given to the situation by the publication of appalling stories of atrocities committed by the Turks in the endeavour to suppress the Bulgarian revolt. The Bulgarian atrocities roused Gladstone to plunge into a campaign against the 'Unspeakable Turk.' It is needless to inquire whether the pictures drawn by the newspaper correspondents were over-coloured; allowing everything possible for hasty acceptance of unsifted evidence and for picturesque exaggeration, a mere residuum of the horrors recounted would have been quite sufficient to warrant a storm of resentment. Lord Derby himself addressed the ambassador at Constantinople in terms which, if carefully restrained, were still sufficiently emphatic. But meanwhile Servia also revolted; and the Servian prince was aided by a Russian general and numbers of Russian volunteers. But still the Servian army could not stand against the Turkish troops, and Servia appealed for European intervention.

Bulgarian atrocities.

A scheme was proposed by Lord Derby to the powers to be imposed upon Turkey, with which the powers were in substantial agreement. Turkey evaded acceptance; but Lord Derby succeeded in bringing about a general conference at Constantinople, where Britain was represented by Lord Salisbury. The powers adopted Lord Derby's proposals; but the Porte, while ready to promise anything, entirely declined to subject the carrying out of the reforms to the control of an international commission. Thereupon, in January 1877, Russia withdrew from the conference and set about the mobilisation of troops. The Constantinople conference had ended; yet a protocol was signed by the powers in London on 31st March, pronouncing that if they were dissatisfied with the manner in which the reforms were carried out, they would consider in common what should be the next step. The protocol was accompanied by a declaration from Lord Derby, which was taken by the Turks to mean that there would be no next step; and by a declaration from Russia, which in effect implied that in the Russian view the protocol was an ultimatum. The Porte rejected the protocol, declaring

A futile conference, December.

1877.

that it was an infringement of the Treaty of Paris, which expressly repudiated the right of the powers to control the internal administration of the Turkish empire. As for the reforms demanded, they fell short of what the Turkish government had already guaranteed. A fortnight later Russia announced that since Turkey had refused to yield to the peaceful pressure of the Concert of Europe, the Tsar would take it upon himself to coerce her single-handed.

The situation in April.

Now there was colour for the Turkish contention; but the plain fact was that Turkey, taking shelter behind the terms of the Treaty of Paris, had made it perfectly clear that whatever promises she might make she would do nothing at all unless actually coerced or convinced that coercion would really be applied. She would have been convinced, if the British government had not given her very good reason to trust in its hostility to coercion. But Russia was determined on coercion, and the attitude of the British government ensured that she would have to apply it single-handed, as she had done before the Crimean War. There was at least a very strong justification for the position taken up by Russia. The oppression of the Porte's Christian subjects was not to be endured by the Christian states of Europe. Although it is true that every sovereign state has a right to manage its own affairs without foreign intervention, and that fact had officially been acknowledged in the Treaty of Paris, still there is a limit, and Russia was not alone in considering that that limit had been passed. Russia, though unsupported by the rest of the powers, took upon herself the rôle of champion of the oppressed; nor was she to be deterred therefrom by British protests. In 1877 as in 1853, if Britain had openly declared that she would co-operate with Russia, Turkey would almost certainly have given way, and there would have been no war; if Britain had from the outset made it unmistakably clear that she would intervene in arms on behalf of Turkey before Russia had finally committed herself, Russia would probably have held her hand and there would have been no war. But in both cases, Turkey took the risk of being defiant on the assumption that sooner or later

the British would be obliged to intervene on her behalf, and Russia took the risk of aggression in the belief that the British government might protest, but would not fight. In both cases the Turk proved right in his anticipation. and the Russian proved to be wrong.

In August 1876, Disraeli, who was then seventy-two years of age, withdrew from the turmoil of the House of Commons to the more restful atmosphere of the House of Lords, taking the title of earl of Beaconsfield. In his last speech as a commoner he emphasised the determination of the government to maintain British interests at all costs; and British interests, in his view as in Palmerston's, demanded the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish empire. But Russia gave greater weight to the evidences of popular indignation aroused by the Bulgarian atrocities, and trusted to the pacific character of Lord Derby as before she had trusted to the pacific character of Lord Aberdeen.

1876. The earl of Beaconsfield.

The Russian declaration of war was followed by invasion. At the outset the Russian arms were successful, and there were some expectations of an easy promenade to Constantinople. Then came a check to the advance. At the Schipka Pass and at Plevna the Turkish troops held their ground against enormous odds with an indomitable valour which stirred the keenest admiration and won the sporting sympathies of the British public. The agitation against Turkish iniquities gave way before the agitation against Russian ambition and Russian hypocrisy. The public was again dominated by the conviction that the Russian 'championship of the oppressed' was merely a cloak to cover her aggressive designs. Russia within her own borders governed by methods which were only a degree less barbarous than those of the Turk. But the mere fact that Russia and Turkey were at war was manifestly insufficient to warrant intervention; after all Russia was fighting theoretically only to enforce a programme upon which the powers had agreed. No overt action could be adopted unless she attempted to take steps which transgressed that programme. Officially the British govern-

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8.

ment stood for the maintenance of strict neutrality so long as neither Egypt nor Constantinople was threatened.

But in December Plevna fell after a heroic defence of five months. In January 1878 the Russians were at Adrianople. **1878.** Lord Derby reminded Russia that no treaty she might make with the Porte would be valid unless ratified by the powers.

While the Russians were on their way to Adrianople, the British parliament met on 17th January. The chancellor of **On the brink.** the exchequer immediately asked for £6,000,000 for the army and navy, as a provision for possible eventualities. The money was voted by a large majority. On 23rd January, the fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles. Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon both resigned, since both were averse from war; but Derby withdrew his resignation when Besika Bay instead of the Dardanelles was assigned as the destination of the fleet. Russia declared that if British warships entered the Dardanelles she would occupy Constantinople; the sultan, however, abstained from sanctioning the entry of the fleet.

Meanwhile, an armistice was signed, which was followed on 3rd March by the Treaty of San Stefano, between Russia and Turkey. Austria had already suggested a congress, and on 4th March Derby expressed approval on condition that the whole treaty should be submitted to the decision of the powers. This was in strict accordance with the doctrine which the government had maintained from the beginning. Russia declined; she would give consideration at the congress to specific objections raised by particular powers to individual points affecting their own interests, but that was all. A deadlock seemed certain; pacific though he was, on this point Lord Derby stood firm; but the less pacific elements in the cabinet were now so completely dominant that he resigned. If it could be said that any specific project of the cabinet had brought him to this decision, it was the determination to call out the reserves. His place at the Foreign Office was taken by Lord Salisbury.

Treaty of San Stefano, March.

The Treaty of San Stefano provided for recognition of the com-

plete independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro. An immensely enlarged Bulgaria was to form a principality tributary to the Porte, but autonomous. Reforms were to be at once introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Armenia; and Russia was to receive some Asiatic territory in lieu of a cash indemnity. In Lord Salisbury's view, the position of the new Bulgaria and the independence of the Danube and Balkan states would make the Black Sea a Russian lake and the Balkan peninsula a dependency of Russia.

Terms of the treaty.

Through April and May war and peace hung in the balance. Immediately upon the adjournment of parliament for the Easter recess it was announced that seven thousand Indian troops had been ordered to Malta, a step which was certainly dramatic, and brought the resources of the British empire into emphatic prominence; but it was more than doubtful whether the Crown had the legal power to take it without the consent of parliament, and it was quite obvious that the government had deliberately avoided asking the consent of parliament. It was vigorously denounced and vigorously applauded, but the applause was the louder. When the question was raised in parliament, the action of the government was endorsed by a majority of 120, on 23rd May.

Indian troops ordered to Malta, April.

But by this time, it appeared that Russia would yield the point of submitting the Treaty of San Stefano to the congress of Europe; negotiations went forward, and on 13th June the congress met at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck, Britain being represented by Lord Beaconsfield himself and by Lord Salisbury. In fact, however, before the congress met Lord Salisbury had come to separate secret agreements both with Russia and with Turkey. It was a foregone conclusion that the congress would adopt whatever Russia and Britain were mutually agreed upon. Russia had also made a private agreement with Austria. In effect, the business of the congress was to ratify the alterations in the Treaty of San Stefano which had thus been arranged beforehand. The independence of Servia, Montenegro, and

The Berlin congress, June.

Roumania held good; but Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be reorganised under Austrian administration. The greater Bulgaria which would in effect have been a Russian dependency was reduced to a comparatively small piece of territory, a Danube province about one-third of the size originally proposed. Another third was to be a Turkish province, with the name of Roumelia, under a Christian governor. The rest remained as it had been before. The British private agreement with Turkey did not affect the general treaty, but conveyed the occupation of the island of Cyprus to the British, in consideration of a British guarantee of the Turkish possessions in Asia, which did not affect the cessions to Russia made in the Treaty of San Stefano. The Turk, on the other hand, was solemnly pledged as before to introduce the reforms which were always coming and never came.

Lord Beaconsfield returned from the Berlin congress bringing 'peace with honour.' The Opposition might denounce the methods by which it had been obtained, the secret treaties, the manipulation of troops, the melodramatic atmosphere which Lord Beaconsfield had created. But the fact remained that British diplomacy had won a complete triumph, and gained everything at which the government aimed. If the prime minister had chosen this moment for a dissolution, he would have been returned to power with an overwhelming majority. But he did not dissolve, and the record of triumph was followed by unhappy developments of policy in India and Africa, and by a domestic struggle with the new leaders of the Irish movement, which between them wrecked the popularity won by Beaconsfield's dramatic successes, discounted when the emotional crisis was past.

'Peace with honour.'

The troubles to come were not immediately apparent. The obstructive tactics of the Home Rulers did indeed develop with great rapidity as soon as the leadership of the House of Commons was transferred to the hands of Sir Stafford Northcote, by Lord Beaconsfield's retirement to 'another place.' In 1877, new rules of procedure were adopted sanctioning the suspension of members, but they were of little

In parliament, 1877-8.

effect in checking obstruction. In the next year, debates in connection with the murder of Lord Leitrim were so acrimonious that they brought about a rupture among the Irish members, the retirement of Butt, and the definite though still not the formal leadership of Parnell. Still the year 1878 witnessed a useful piece of legislation in the codification of the Factory Acts with some changes. The distinction between the factories to which the maximum of regulation applied, and the workshops where the regulation was partial, was modified so that the term 'factory' covered all places where mechanical power was used irrespective of the number of employees.

1878-9. Parnell and the Land League.

At the close of 1878 the Irish Land League was formed, with Parnell as its president, and the abolition of landlordism as its avowed object Parnell, himself a Protestant Irish landlord, English on the father's side, inherited from an American mother an intense personal hostility to England. At this time there is no doubt that he shared with most of the Irish in America the desire to sever Ireland entirely from the British empire. In the view of Home Rulers in general, self-government for Ireland was a necessity, and the government of Ireland by a British majority over the heads of Irish representatives was intolerable. Probably a majority of them believed that self-government was out of reach without separation. But the political programme would secure a much stronger popular support by being coupled with a definite agrarian programme. The programme of the Land League was the suppression of rack-rents, resistance to evictions, and the ultimate establishment of a peasant proprietary. On his visits to America, Parnell had no hesitation in professing that the agrarian agitation was a means to severing the 'last link' binding Ireland to England. In 1879, when the rural distress was rendered more acute by the imminent prospect of another famine, a vigorous agitation was set on foot to resist the payment if not of all rents, at any rate of all such as were 'unfair.' Evictions were resisted; where they were enforced, life was made unendurable to any new tenant.

Disasters in India and South Africa, depression of trade and failure of employment, which had been on the increase since trade had reached the high-water mark of prosperity in 1874, the paralysis of business in the House of Commons resulting from the inability of the government to control the obstructive tactics of the Irish members, the agrarian agitation in Ireland itself—all these circumstances combined had seriously shaken the government when Gladstone emerged from his comparative retirement and developed his fervid indictment of the administration in the Midlothian campaign. For the first time a great political chief, not actually at the moment of a general election, appealed to the electorate not in parliament, but from the platform and from railway carriage windows. At seventy years of age, the veteran leader gave a display of physical and oratorical vigour without precedent or parallel.

1879. The Midlothian campaign.

The effect on public opinion was tremendous. When parliament met at the beginning of 1880, the government's financial programme seemed unsatisfactory, its measures for the relief of distress in Ireland, due to the famine, appeared somewhat inadequate, and a plan for forming a single Metropolitan Water Company appeared to be needlessly costly and far too favourable to the existing water companies. Lord Beaconsfield did not choose to risk a possible defeat on the question, and appealed to the country. Ireland had not occupied a prominent position in Gladstone's campaign; Beaconsfield sought to withdraw attention from the general attacks on his administration by giving the first place to the necessity for resisting Irish separatism. But the appeal produced no effect upon the electors. The Liberals were returned with a majority of nearly fifty over Conservatives and Home Rulers together. Lord Beaconsfield resigned; the official Liberal chiefs, Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, impressed upon the reluctant queen the necessity of recognising that the prime minister demanded by the country was Gladstone. On 23rd April the new administration formally began.

1880. Fall of the Beaconsfield ministry, April.

V. India and Afghanistan, 1869-1881

The last act of Disraeli's ministry in 1868 was the appointment of Lord Mayo as Lawrence's successor in India. The selection was a source of bitter criticism at the time, but was amply justified in the event. Lord Mayo had no crisis to deal with; but in the short period of his rule he proved himself in tact, firmness, and administrative capacity, a viceroy of the first rank. Sher Ali of Kabul learnt that although he would not be maintained on his throne by British bayonets, and could not be received into an offensive and defensive alliance, he could count upon the moral support of the British government, and upon its material support within limits as to which it would be the sole judge. The distinction between the position taken up by Lord Mayo and that of his predecessor is not on the face of it a very marked one; but to the Afghan, Lawrence had conveyed the impression that any and every rebel who managed to make himself master of a district would be recognised as lord of that district by the British government as long as he remained in possession; whereas Mayo gave the impression that no rebel would be recognised except when he had actually made himself master of Afghanistan; it seemed that Lawrence took no more than a polite interest in the Kabul dominion, whereas Mayo actively desired that it should be strong and secure. The mourning was universal when Mayo, almost exactly three years after his first landing in India, was assassinated by a convict in the Andaman islands.

Lord Mayo in India, 1869-72.

The viceroy's place was taken by Lord Northbrook in 1872. Sher Ali, who was nervous about the Russian movement, tried in vain to obtain closer terms of alliance than Northbrook, acting on his predecessor's policy, was disposed to concede. On the other hand, the advocates of the 'forward policy' obtained the ear of the Conservative government which came into power in 1874. The dread of Russian aggression was active; suspicions that Sher Ali, dissatisfied with the amount of support he was receiving from India, was

Northbrook, 1872-6.

allowing himself to be drawn into intrigues with Russia, became rife. In 1875, the India Office urged Lord Northbrook to induce the Amir to allow the establishment of a British agent at Herat and at Kandahar. The viceroy, supported by his council, was strongly opposed to the plan, being convinced not only that the Amir would refuse, but that the proposal would rouse his suspicions of sinister designs against his independence in the background. Lord Salisbury insisted that a mission should be sent to Kabul; Lord Northbrook resigned, finding himself entirely out of harmony with the government; and in April 1876 Lord Lytton arrived in India as viceroy.

Rival schools.

The assumption at the root of the Lawrence policy of 'masterly inactivity' in its most extreme form was that the actual north-west frontier as it existed was practically impenetrable. Beyond that frontier it was wise to cultivate friendly relations with native powers which would then serve as an additional barricade against a Russian attack, if such an attack should ever be contemplated. But history had proved that there was one absolutely certain way of ensuring the hostility to the British of the peoples beyond the mountains; and that was to excite in their minds the suspicion that attempts were being made by insidious methods to deprive them of their independence, and to bring them under the British sway. Next we have to observe that politicians of every school were agreed that Afghanistan ought to be maintained as an independent state, a buffer between the Russian and the British empires in Asia. No one at all wanted either to annex Afghanistan or to see it annexed to Russia. Every one wanted British influence to prevail in Afghanistan, and Russian influence to be excluded. But the politicians of the forward school represented by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Bartle Frere, backed by the general military, as distinct from political, opinion, were not satisfied with the existing degree of security. In the first place, they held that in order to render the frontier itself impregnable positions required to be occupied beyond the present boundary. In the second place, it was necessary to be able not only to block every possible gateway, but to take the offensive.

For Afghanistan lay between the upper and nether millstones, the Russians and the British. By herself she could bid defiance neither to the one nor to the other. If she could not trust the British to protect her against Russia, she would certainly experiment on the chance of getting Russian support against the British. That could mean only that she would become a dependency of Russia; and if once Afghanistan became a Russian dependency the actual impregnability of the frontier, even when held in force by loyal troops, would not be convincing to the disloyal elements within the peninsula. The problem therefore was to secure the loyalty of Afghanistan against the peculiar methods of Russian diplomacy, apart from the establishment of a scientific frontier.

Position of Afghanistan.

Now it was clearly a matter of the highest importance that the British government should have accurate knowledge of what was actually going on beyond the mountains; and accurate knowledge was not to be looked for when the only authoritative information came from a native *vakil* or agent, himself a Mohammedan, at the court of a Mohammedan prince. Manifestly it was extremely desirable that the Amir should consent to the appointment, as agent, of a British officer on whom the British government could place complete reliance. But this was precisely the thing to which the Amir had the strongest possible objection. It appeared to him that the agent of to-day would become the dictator of to-morrow; that the appointment of a Resident was always the preliminary to effective deprivation of independence. It would seem then that of the two schools of Indian politicians, the one was convinced that the presence of a Resident was an idea so repugnant to the Amir that it must be set entirely on one side, whereas the Frere school considered that it should certainly be made an object of policy to remove the Amir's repugnance to it. But Lord Lytton arrived in India apparently under the impression that the Amir's assent to a Resident must be obtained with his goodwill if possible, but if not, without it.

Need for a Resident.

Lord Lytton soon after his arrival opened communications with Sher Ali, in order to induce the Amir, in the first instance,

to receive a complimentary mission. The Amir explained with extreme elaboration his objections to that course. Then Lytton became peremptory; the Amir suggested that the vakil should visit Simla to discuss matters. The viceroy, who was now partly occupied with preparations for the great Durbar which was to be held on 1st January, for the purpose of proclaiming the empress of India, assented to the proposal, and arrangements were then made for a formal conference to be held at Peshawar immediately after the Durbar. The conferences were held in February 1877, but nothing came of them. In Lytton's view, Sher Ali intended nothing to come of them, and was merely fencing while he was carrying on negotiations with Russia. The British were therefore released from any obligation to extend friendship and protection to him.

Lord Lytton, 1876.

For the next eighteen months, however, the Afghan question remained in suspense, though the principles of the forward policy were furthered by a treaty with the Khan of Kelat, which placed the British in possession of Quetta, controlling the Bolan Pass, the more southern of the two great gateways into India. During 1877 the war between Russia and Turkey was in progress; in 1878 came the Treaty of San Stefano, the crisis when an Anglo-Russian war seemed to be more than probable, the Berlin congress, and the triumph of Lord Beaconsfield. As in 1856, Russian designs upon Constantinople, if she had such designs, were foiled; and again, as in 1856, the activity of her Asiatic intrigues increased. Officially, she repudiated the idea that she regarded Afghanistan as within the sphere where she desired to extend her influence; unofficially, the governor of Turkestan acted upon the contrary hypothesis. In the summer of 1878, a Russian mission was received at Kabul.

Russian designs.

If the Amir could receive a Russian mission, it appeared that he could have no excuse for refusing a British mission. Lord Lytton announced to the Amir that a mission, with General Sir Neville Chamberlain at its head, would proceed to Kabul. The Russian mission withdrew from Kabul, and Sher Ali protested against the coming of the British mission, declaring that the visit of the Russians

1878. A mission enforced.

had been entirely against his own will. Nevertheless, the mission went up to Peshawar, but was then informed by Afghan officers, in effect, that it would be allowed to go no further. Lord Lawrence, who had been raised to the peerage on his return to England, maintained that, both morally and politically, it would be a mistake to force a mission upon the Amir; but it was felt that to submit to such a rebuff as had just been administered would be ruinous to British prestige. An ultimatum was sent to the Amir demanding the acceptance of a permanent mission. No reply was received, and in November British troops were in motion. The course of events followed the precedent of the first intervention in Afghanistan. The British advanced in three columns, Sir Donald Stewart made his way by the Bolan Pass to Kandahar; Sir Sam Browne moving by the Khaibar secured Jellalabad and Gandamak, and Sir Frederick Roberts cleared the Karam Valley after the only sharp fight of the campaign at Peiwar Kotul.

Sher Ali, finding that Russia had not the slightest intention of helping him, retreated from Kabul, having set up as governor one of his sons, Yakub Khan, whom he had kept a prisoner for some years past. Yakub took discretion to be the better part of valour, and in May came to terms with the British at the Treaty of Gandamak. There was to be a British Resident at Kabul; the British were to have entire control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan; they were to be given possession of the passes, and the control over the neighbouring tribes; and they were to continue the subsidy which of old had been given to Sher Ali, who by this time had died. The Amir was to be responsible for the safety of the Resident. Stewart was to remain temporarily at Kandahar. The remainder of the British troops withdrew behind the new frontier.

1879. Yakub Khan.

Then the old story was repeated. On 3rd September the Kabul mob rose, and the Amir's soldiers mutinied. The Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his escort were cut to pieces after a desperate defence. The Indian government, however, acted with promptitude. Within a month Sir Frederick Roberts with a force of some

The Kabul rising, September.

six thousand men was back in Afghanistan and was met by the Amir, who hastened to place himself under British protection. On 10th October, Roberts was in Kabul and had taken over the government on behalf of Yakub Khan. A few days later Yakub abdicated, and Roberts governed as *de facto* ruler until fresh arrangements could be made; but his jurisdiction extended precisely as far as his troops could enforce it. Meanwhile Stewart reoccupied Kandahar, which he had evacuated just before the Kabul explosion Sir Frederick, knowing that he would be isolated with his force throughout the winter, occupied the Sherpur cantonment, close to Kabul, and maintained it in a state of defence. In December there was some hard fighting, culminating in an attack in force on 23rd December, which resulted in the total rout of the Afghans, who did not venture on any further attack, though the British general was still unable to extend his control beyond the actual Kabul district.

Winter. Roberts at Sherpur.

In March, Sir Donald Stewart was able to leave a portion of his force at Kandahar, and to march up with his main body to support Roberts. The march was one of great difficulty through a hostile country, but it was conducted with admirable skill, and after one brief but very fierce engagement at Ahmed Kehl, where the Afghan attack was turned into a rout, Stewart joined hands with Roberts. It was just at this moment that the Beaconsfield administration came to an end. The Liberals were entirely hostile to the policy which had been adopted towards Afghanistan by Beaconsfield and Lytton; their views were those advocated by Lawrence. Lytton was recalled, and his place was taken by Lord Ripon. The new government was determined to drop the policy of imposing a Resident upon the ruler of Afghanistan; but at the moment there was no ruler. Yakub Khan was impossible; his brother, Ayub Khan, governor of Herat, was bitterly hostile to the British. But their cousin, Abdur Rhaman, who had been driven out of the country a dozen years earlier by Sher Ali, took the opportunity to reassert his old claim. The government resolved to recognise Abdur Rhaman, and duly acknowledged him as Amir at the end of July.

1880. Complications.

But meanwhile a fresh complication had arisen. Kandahar was in the hands of the British, the governor of that district being another Sher Ali. Ayub Khan at Herat resolved to play for his own hand, and to make himself master of Kandahar, as a preliminary to a fight for the crown with Abdur Rhaman. In June, he was on the march for Kandahar. Naturally it would have been the business of Sher Ali's troops to deal with Ayub, but Sher Ali's troops mutinied. Therefore General Burrows, the British commander, marched out with the greater part of his force and delivered battle at Maiwand—with disastrous results. Out of his 2500 men nearly 1000 were killed; the rest had to fall back to Kandahar and prepare for a desperate defence.

Maiwand, July.

Maiwand was fought on 27th July. When the news reached the army at Kabul, it was at once resolved that Roberts should march with 10,000 men to the relief of Kandahar. On 9th August the march began. For almost three weeks no news of the army's doings arrived. But on 29th August Roberts was seventeen miles from Kandahar, and on the 31st he was in it. He had marched his men over three hundred miles in twenty days, through mountainous country where attack might have been expected almost daily, though none was delivered—a happy consequence of Stewart's earlier march from Kandahar to Kabul. So skilfully was the work done that the troops arrived in perfect condition. On the day after entering Kandahar, Sir Frederick shattered Ayub's forces in the decisive battle of Kandahar.

Roberts's march, August.

It was already a settled question of policy that Abdur Rhaman was to be acknowledged as Amir of Afghanistan; that the demand for a British Resident at Kabul was to be absolutely withdrawn; that the Amir was to enter into no independent relations with any foreign power; that in case of aggression against him by a foreign power he would have British support, both material and moral. It was understood that some of the positions ceded under the Gandamak treaty were not to be retained, and that there was to be no British interference with the Amir's administration. But there

Abdur Rhaman.

was very strong pressure from some military quarters for the retention of Kandahar in British hands. Military opinion, however, though exceedingly strong on both sides, was very much divided, and in these circumstances the political considerations urged by the Lawrence school predominated. It was quite certain that if Kandahar were retained it would be necessary to maintain a large military force, the presence of which would be a constant incitement to Afghan hostility, and would be looked upon as a perpetual grievance by the Amir. It was decided, therefore, that Kandahar should not be retained, and the evacuation was completed early in 1881. Abdur Rhaman was left to establish his own authority in his own dominions; which he did with entire success.

1881. Kandahar evacuated.

VI. South Africa, 1869-1881

While British colonies and dominions in the Western Hemisphere and in Australasia were following a normal course of steady development, the seeds of future troubles were being sown in South Africa, and before the close of the Beaconsfield administration troubles arose in that region which had their share in bringing about the downfall of the government.

The Orange Free State, under its very able president, Hendrick Brand, progressed steadily and peacefully, and in fact presented the appearance of a model Republic. The more turbulent group of Boers established in the Transvaal were much less organised for purposes of government than their kinsfolk between the Vaal and the Orange. West of the loop of the river Limpopo and the junction of the Orange and the Vaal there was no systematically organised government; the way northward into the interior was open from the Cape, though partly blocked by the region called the Kalahari desert. The native population, since the Matabele had been driven away to the north-east beyond the Limpopo, were Bantu negroes of a much less warlike type than the eastern Kaffirs or the Zulus and their kinsfolk the Matabele. But as

The governments in South Africa.

yet the British and Dutch of Cape Colony were not pushing up into this area.

At the close, however, of the sixties, diamonds were discovered on the western borders of the Free State and the Transvaal, upon land claimed by a Griqua chief, named Waterboer, a claim disputed both by the Free State and by the South African Republic. Waterboer offered the land for sale to the British government. The Transvaal president, Pretorius, consented to an arbitration as to the ownership; President Brand refused on the ground that there was no case for arbitration. Nevertheless, Mr. Keate the governor of Natal was appointed arbitrator; there was no one to present the case properly for the Republics; the case of Waterboer was presented with great skill, and naturally the Keate award was entirely in his favour. The British government bought him out and took over the administration of the diamond district, which was called Griqualand West. Shortly afterwards conflicting claims arose as to titles to particular portions of the land; these claims came up for settlement before the British courts, and the investigations which were involved made it perfectly clear that Waterboer's title had never been good at all. Here then was a serious difficulty. If Waterboer's title was not good, neither was that of the British government which had purchased it from him. But the government which had paramount power in South Africa, generally responsible for order, could not afford to let the diamond districts go out of its hands into the possession of the Orange Free State; which had practically no option but to accept a lump sum as compensation for the surrendered territory. Although it was hardly realised at the time, the true importance of this British acquisition lay in the fact not that it was a diamond district, but that it was the gateway to the interior.

The diamond fields, 1869-71.

Griqualand West was constituted a province of Cape Colony in 1871; in the following year the representative government which had been established in Cape Colony in 1854 was developed into full responsible government. Almost immediately afterwards another serious question arose, owing to the relations

between the Transvaal Boers and a Kaffir chief named Sekukuni which brought on a war between them. The Boers were mustered for an expedition against Sekukuni. They had elected as their president, in succession to Pretorius, a clever enough man named Burgers; but they then discovered that he was a Freethinker. With their religious ideas drawn chiefly from the books of Judges and Kings in the Scriptures, the Boers came to the conclusion that the hand of the Lord would be against them by reason of the apostasy of their president; therefore they either fought very badly or declined to fight at all. It was vain for the government to offer high pay in order to get men to fight, because there was no money in the treasury. It appeared then that Sekukuni would take advantage of the situation to bring the Basutos down upon them and wipe them out. Behind Sekukuni was the Zulu state, now under a very powerful chief of the same militant type as the old leaders, Tcharka and Dingan. If a black deluge swept into the Transvaal it was not likely to stop there; so it became necessary to take preventive measures.

The Transvaal and Sekukuni, 1876.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent up from Natal as commissioner to deal with the situation in the South African Republic. Recent events had produced the erroneous impression that the Transvaal Boers were of no use for fighting purposes. Their political organisation was almost non-existent and their treasury was empty. There were British and German settlers in the district who infinitely preferred the idea of organised British government to the existing anarchy, though most of the Dutch population were intensely averse from any such subordination. Those of them who had not themselves taken part in the Great Trek of 1837 as boys or young men were the sons or possibly the grandsons of those stalwart protestors against British domination. Shepstone, however, was convinced first that annexation was a sheer necessity, since native chiefs who would attack the Boers with a light heart would hesitate to challenge the British government; and next that the majority of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal were in favour of annexa-

1877. The Transvaal annexed, April.

tion. In April 1877, acting upon powers given to him, he proclaimed the annexation of the South African Republic under the title of the 'Transvaal Territory.'

Evidence of unrest among the Kaffirs had shown itself in another quarter. In Natal and Kaffraria the number of whites was very small in proportion to the Bantu; consequently the law required the registration of all natives who were in possession of firearms. There was no reason why any native should object to registration, unless he wanted to use firearms for illegitimate purposes. It was found that a chief named Langalabalele in Natal was encouraging the accumulation of unregistered firearms. He ignored the warnings of the Natal government; it was not actually proved, but there was practically no doubt, that he was planning a general Kaffir rising; and he was accordingly tried and sentenced to be detained in the Cape Colony.

The Kaffirs.

More dangerous than either Sekukuni or Langalabalele was the Zulu king Cetewayo. He had succeeded his father, the comparatively mild Panda, in 1873; and ever since that year he had been steadily working up the military organisation of his Zulus upon the traditional lines which had made the Zulus a conquering force against whom no other tribes had been able to make head at all. One of the laws of the Zulu organisation forbade any man to marry until he had 'washed his spear'—a phrase which needs no interpretation. He revived sundry bloodthirsty practices of his predecessors, which Panda had given up at the instance of the British; and he met the remonstrances of the lieutenant-governor of Natal by telling him in effect to mind his own business. Now Cetewayo had 40,000 fighting men formed into drilled regiments, and all thorough masters of their own peculiar method of fighting.

The Zulus: Cetewayo, 1876.

Such was the situation when the new high commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, arrived in South Africa, a fortnight before Shepstone proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal. Highly distinguished as an administrator in India, a leading advocate of the forward policy, Frere was chosen by the then colonial secretary, Lord Carnarvon, to

Lord Carnarvon's imperialism.

carry out a new imperial policy with which Frere was heartily in accord. Carnarvon had been at the Colonial Office in 1867 when the British North America Act federated the North American colonies into the Dominion of Canada. He returned to the Colonial Office when Disraeli returned to power in 1874. At that time the British public in general and the great majority of politicians took it for granted that colonial policy meant educating the colonies or allowing them to educate themselves up to such a standard of political organisation that they could set up for themselves as independent states whenever they might elect to do so ; and that they were rather to be encouraged to take such a step, so as to reduce the world-wide responsibilities of the British empire. Lord Carnarvon was the pioneer of a different conception which looked forward to the day when the colonies should not be separated from the mother country, but should form a group of sister states, all self-governing, but all united in one imperial family. The federation of the Dominion of Canada set the example which he hoped that the other groups of colonies would follow ; he had not realised that the time was not yet ripe, and he was extremely desirous of seeing a South African Federation after the Canadian model.

Carnarvon and Frere.

His ideas were received in England with indifference ; in South Africa they appeared to be even less acceptable. Proposals emanating from the home government were always regarded with jealousy, and matters were not improved when the eminent historian J. A. Froude was sent on a journey round the empire, a sort of semi-official imperialist mission. Carnarvon, however, was undaunted. Much was to be hoped from the influence of a man of such high character and proved ability as Sir Bartle Frere in South Africa itself ; and at home a bill was introduced, also in 1877, to sanction the federation of the South African colonies if they should see fit to take advantage of it.

Frere was not destined to carry out the imperial scheme. His first step was merely to give a formal sanction to Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal, for which the new commissioner had no responsibility. But the annexation directly involved

the imperial government in outstanding disputes between the Transvaal Boers and the Zulu state as to territorial boundaries. A commission appointed to arbitrate between the disputants gave its decisions in favour of Cetewayo. But this involved another difficulty. A number of Boers were settled in the disputed district; it was necessary that they should receive either compensation for disturbance, or protection if they remained where they were. The high commissioner resolved that the time had come for a definite settlement of the relations with Zululand. To talk of that kingdom as though it were a peaceable and harmless state which desired nothing except to be left in quiet was absurd. Zululand was very emphatically a military state organised entirely for war and aggression. The principles which had been applied in India must be applied in Africa, with just the difference involved in the fact that the Indian native principalities enjoyed a civilisation very much in advance of the Zulus. There must be an end of practices intolerably barbaric in their character; there must be a British Resident; the Zulu king must be made to recognise the British as the paramount power as definitely as any Indian potentate; and he must be persuaded by peremptory methods, since milder language had been treated with contempt. For the Zulu power was an actual menace; if it should assume the aggressive, there would be a black and white war of a more appalling character than anything that had ever been known either in India or in Africa. Sir Bartle warned the home government that the military situation was one of great gravity; that large reinforcements of troops were needed to deal with it. But the home government through 1877 and the first half of 1878 was contemplating the possibilities of a Russian war. Early in 1878 Frere's ally in the cabinet, Carnarvon, resigned; and the appeals of the high commissioner received no serious attention.

Frere, high commissioner, 1877.

The Zulu menace.

So when the commissioners made their award, Frere, though dissatisfied with the quantity of troops at his disposal, had no doubt at all that a firm line must be taken with Cete-

wayo. Whether the British troops were many or few, the Zulu king must not be permitted to imagine that the British government feared a contest. Therefore to the award were appended a series of demands which Frere regarded as imperative: compensation or protection for the Boers settled in the districts conveyed to the Zulu king; compensation for recent Zulu raids into Natal territory; modifications in the Zulu military system, and in the bloodthirsty Zulu laws which were part of the system; and the presence in Zululand of a British Resident, for whose safety the Zulu king was to be responsible. The award and the conditions attached were delivered to Cetewayo on 9th December 1878, in the form of an ultimatum which was to be accepted within a month. Immediately after the delivery of the ultimatum, Frere learnt with some satisfaction that additional troops were on their way to the Cape.

1878. Ultimatum to Cetewayo, December.

The ultimatum was ignored, as Frere himself had anticipated. On 10th January 1879, the day after the time limit of the ultimatum expired, three British columns entered Zululand — Colonel Evelyn Wood on the north-west; Colonel Pearson across the Lower Tugela; while the main body under the commander-in-chief, Lord Chelmsford, formed the central column. The three were to converge upon Cetewayo's principal kraal—camp, village, or town—at Ulundi.

1879. The Zulu War, January.

Lord Chelmsford, on crossing the Buffalo River, left a small party of 130 men at Rorke's Drift to keep the communications with Natal open. On the 20th he encamped at Isandhlwana. On the 21st he marched with the greater part of his force to capture a Zulu kraal some miles away, where the enemy were supposed to be in force, leaving 900 men in camp at Isandhlwana. He had been completely misled by his information, and a Zulu army 20,000 strong surprised the camp at Isandhlwana, where the British force was annihilated. On the same day a picked detachment of Zulus fell upon the small party at Rorke's Drift. But there the two officers in command, Lieutenants Chard and

Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift, 21st January.

Bromhead, received warning in time to enable them to extemporise defences, behind which they held the swarming Zulus at bay for eleven hours. At daybreak the Zulus retreated, carrying off many of their dead, but leaving 370 on the field. The British had lost 17 killed and 10 wounded.

After the disaster of Isandhlwana, Chelmsford had no alternative but to fall back upon Natal and await reinforcements. Wood and Pearson entrenched themselves in the positions they had reached at Kambula and Ekowe. Some months elapsed before it was possible to renew the advance; it was not till 4th July that Chelmsford fought the decisive battle at Ulundi, where the Zulu army was completely shattered. Cetewayo himself was captured and removed to Cape territory, and it was left to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been sent out to take Chelmsford's place, to settle a temporary administration in Zululand. The Zulu organisation was broken up and the country was divided among thirteen chiefs, under the control of a single Resident. We may here carry matters so far forward as to say that this arrangement did not work; that Cetewayo in his captivity created such a favourable impression that he was presently restored, but almost immediately afterwards died; that his son Dinizulu proved an unsatisfactory substitute; and that Zululand was ultimately annexed in 1887. Frere met the usual fate of a governor who has faced his responsibilities, and whose administration has been attended by a military disaster.

End of the war, July.

The destruction of the Zulu power relieved the Transvaal from the danger to avert which had been the primary object of Shepstone's annexation. To that annexation the Boers themselves had always been hostile. They in fact believed themselves to have been quite capable of defying the Zulus, as long ago they had defied the Matabele—a belief which it is not easy to share. But when the danger had passed, their resentment at the loss of independence was intensified. The Liberals in Opposition denounced the annexation, and the Boers hoped that when they came into office they would reverse it. The hope was

1880. The Transvaal revolt, December.

dispelled by Gladstone's first declarations. During the months which followed Gladstone's accession to power, the government was actually changing its mind, and came to the conclusion not only that the annexation had been impolitic in itself, but that the antagonism to it had been much deeper and more general than was at first supposed; that a people to whom freedom had been deliberately conceded in 1852 had been forced into subjection against its will in 1876, and that its independence ought to be restored. But this was not known to the Boers, the 'burghers' or citizens of the Transvaal. Bent on recovering the independence of which they had been bereft, they appeared to have no alternative to a recourse to arms. On 16th December, their great anniversary, Dingan's Day, they proclaimed the Republic again, and set up a provisional government under Paul Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert. A few days later they captured a small detachment of British troops at Potchefstroom, and cut up another at Bronkhorst Spruit.

The places of Frere and Wolseley respectively had been taken by Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir George Colley. While Robinson was hoping to achieve a peaceful solution with the help of President Brand of the Orange Free State, Colley with a force of about 1000 men advanced from Natal to force his way into the Transvaal and suppress the rebellion. On 28th January 1881 he met with a reverse at Laing's Nek; on 27th February the British force suffered a complete disaster at Majuba Hill, inflicted by a still smaller force of Boers. Colley himself fell.

1881. Disaster, February.

All precedent demanded that after such a reverse, the enemy at whose hands it had been suffered should be taught emphatically that it had been nothing more than an accident, before any other negotiations should be opened with them. But the Gladstone government had already before the disaster resolved upon retrocession on the ground that the annexation had been essentially unjust. If the annexation was unjust the rebellion was just; it might be politic to punish the rebels for having been successful, but the morality of doing so was another matter. The cabinet, which included

Retrocession.

Lord Hartington and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, came to the conclusion that the retrocession should go forward as though there had been no Majuba. Immediately after the disaster, an armistice was arranged, followed by a convention conferring upon the Transvaal Republic complete self-government within its own territory, of which the boundaries were definitely delimited; the suzerainty of Great Britain was to be expressly recognised, and there was to be a British Resident at Pretoria, the Transvaal capital. It may here be remarked that two years afterwards the convention was modified; the Resident was withdrawn, and the amended convention contained no express mention of British suzerainty, though it explicitly retained British control over the external relations of the Republic.

There are now probably few people who believe that the retrocession was made in consequence, not in spite, of Majuba. The government claimed that it was actuated by the principles of justice without qualification. So regarded the measure was perhaps the most courageous attempt recorded in history to govern political action by purely ethical considerations. But if it is difficult in private life for a man to take a blow without returning it, to acknowledge that he has been in the wrong and that the blow was justified, it is infinitely more difficult for a government to take such a course. The world declines to believe in the higher motive, and attributes the action of the state, as of the individual, to mere pusillanimity; and so it befell in this case. The government was furiously denounced by the Opposition; but what was much more serious, the majority of the Dutch in South Africa, though not by any means all of them, believed that the Boers had won by force of arms, and that the British government gave way because it was afraid of attempting to enforce its authority; and from that belief a crop of troubles was to spring in the future.

VII. The 'Eighty' Parliament: (i) 1880-1882

It was no easy task for Gladstone to form the administration which took office in April 1880, on his return to the leadership which he had abdicated. Besides the many members of his old cabinet, and men who outside the cabinet had rendered prominent service between 1869 and 1874, there were the members of the more advanced section of the party who had distinguished themselves in the last parliament, notably Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, both of them reputed to be Republicans. Dilke waived his claim in favour of Mr. Chamberlain, who in the cabinet represented the extreme wing of the party as president of the Board of Trade. Lord Granville returned to the Foreign Office, Lord Hartington took charge of India, Lord Kimberley of the colonies, Gladstone himself of the exchequer. Sir William Harcourt became home secretary, and Forster chief secretary for Ireland. Some shifting in the cabinet at the end of 1882, consequent upon Gladstone's retirement from the chancellorship of the exchequer, allowed Lord Beaconsfield's former foreign secretary, Lord Derby, to join the cabinet as colonial secretary.

1880. Gladstone's cabinet.

The new government found itself with the Afghan troubles on its hands, and these were hardly settled when it was faced with the South African crisis. How it dealt with both these matters we have already seen. It was its intention to carry the last Reform Bill to completion by the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer, who continued to be unrepresented; but it was impossible to proceed at once with any sort of heroic legislation, since besides its other difficulties the Irish land problem urgently required to be dealt with. The legislation for the year, therefore, was confined to the Burials Bill, which, to the indignation of many of the Anglican clergy, permitted Nonconformists to bury their dead without the Anglican form of service, and with such forms of service as they themselves chose, in the parish churchyards; the Ground Game Act, commonly called the 'Hares and Rabbits' Bill, enabling tenant-farmers to protect themselves from those depre-

Legislation of 1880.

dators; and the Employers' Liability Act, giving the workman a claim to compensation from his employer for injuries consequent upon his employment; though this was in effect a permissive bill, like so many of those passed by the late government, as it left the employer free to contract out of liability.

Much excitement also was caused by the action of the senior member for Northampton, Charles Bradlaugh, an aggressive unbeliever who claimed to be allowed to make affirmation instead of taking the regular parliamentary oath. A select committee decided that he could not lawfully do so; whereupon Bradlaugh proposed to take the oath in the ordinary way. Another select committee pronounced that in view of his declarations that to him the formula was meaningless, he could not be permitted to take an oath which would be a blasphemy. The courts decided that he could not legally affirm. Throughout the remainder of the parliament the battle went on, the House refusing him the right to take the oath, though he resigned his seat three times, and was each time re-elected by his constituency; while a bill which was brought in to remove the anomaly, and allow an unbeliever to make affirmation, was rejected as being a 'Bradlaugh Relief Bill.'

Bradlaugh.

Ireland, however, very soon became the absorbing question. The government announced its intention of governing by the ordinary law as soon as the last Coercion Act should lapse. But the only remedial measure introduced was the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. Bad crops and anti-rent agitation between them had caused an enormous number of the tenants to leave their rents unpaid, and the non-payment of rent was accompanied by an immense crop of evictions. The Government proposed that when tenants evicted for non-payment of rent could show that the failure was really due to actual inability to pay, they should receive compensation for disturbance. But the bill was contemned by the Parnellites and denounced by the Opposition, and though it made its way through the House of Commons it was rejected by the House of Lords. The Peace Preservation Act lapsed, and there followed immediately a renewed out-

Ireland: the Disturbance Bill.

Boycotting.

break of violence and outrages, the special weapon brought into play being the very extensive employment of 'boycotting,' a term derived from the name of Captain Boycott, one of its most prominent victims. The method was in effect to cut off all supplies both of goods and of labour from offending landlords and any one who tried to support them.

Government by the ordinary law was impossible, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Some of the Land League leaders, whom public opinion held responsible for the latest agrarian developments, were arrested on the charge of conspiracy, but the jury were 'unanimous that they could not agree' and were discharged. Parliament met in January, and a Protection of Property Bill and an Arms Bill were immediately produced. Parnell and his followers fell upon them furiously; obstruction in the House was carried to such a pitch that more than thirty of the Irish members were suspended in the course of a single sitting. Their wrath, having been thoroughly aroused, was in no way conciliated by the introduction of a Land Bill, intended to secure the 'three F's'—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. It set up a land court, at which tenants could have a fair rent fixed for fifteen years, the tenant having the right to sell his interest in the holding to the highest bidder. The tenant could be evicted only for breach of contract or non-payment of rent. Power was also given to the land commissioners to facilitate the establishment of a peasant proprietary by advancing three-fourths of the sum required by a tenant who desired to purchase his holding. But the Land League refused to believe, or to let the tenants believe, that the rents fixed by the land court would be fair; instead of supporting the bill they denounced it. It met with equally vigorous opposition from the other side, led by the duke of Argyll, who left the government. The bill passed the Commons, but not till it had been somewhat severely handled. The Lords passed the second reading, and then proceeded to amend it out of all recognition. The deadlock, imminent when the government rejected the Lords' amendments, was averted by a compromise which satisfied no one, least of all the Parnellites.

1881. Coercion Bills.

A Land Bill.

Before the passage of the bill a great figure had disappeared from the political world. On 19th April Lord Beaconsfield died. Since the days of Melbourne's paternal mentorship, no statesman had so gained the confidence of Queen Victoria as Lord Beaconsfield. In his early years he had been an adventurer who won his way to the leadership of the Conservative party, which feared, distrusted, and followed him, compelled by his brilliancy in debate and mastery of political tactics. Having won that position, he made himself their idol, although Conservatism was entirely alien to him if Conservatism means dislike of innovation or fear of popular government. He achieved his unique position by fascinating the popular imagination—by the resounding if theatrical triumphs of his European diplomacy. He had reconstructed the Conservative party by teaching it to regard itself as the true guardian of popular welfare and the true depository of the national honour. For the moment there was no one left in the party who could assert such an unqualified ascendency as his. The leadership was divided between the sardonic and militant marquess of Salisbury in the House of Lords and the placable Sir Stafford Northcote in the House of Commons, whose gentle sway was soon to be challenged by the more reckless energies of Lord Randolph Churchill.

Death of Beaconsfield, 19th April.

From Parnell's point of view, the Land Bill was not a thing demanding gratitude, but a concession wrung from the government by the Land League, an insignificant instalment of what was still to be won. The agitation of the League continued with unabated vigour; so did the outrages, but more especially those which, like boycotting, it was extremely difficult to bring into the category of actual crime. Like O'Connell, Parnell was skilful in avoiding actual incitement to law-breaking, but he was equally careful in abstaining from condemnatory language. There could be no doubt that the practical effect was to encourage lawlessness, defiance of the government, recognition of the League as the real ruler of Ireland. On the other hand, the executive, armed with arbitrary powers, made numerous

The Land League and the executive.

arrests, but obtained no convictions; the agitators having no serious objection to being arrested. The Land League had succeeded where the Fenians had failed, and had swept in to its support the whole of the peasantry and the majority of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

Arrest of League leaders, October.

In October, the government resolved to strike at higher game than the common agitators; Parnell and some of his colleagues were arrested and lodged in Kilmainham gaol. The League at once responded by ordering that no rent should be paid until the leaders were released. The government retorted by proclaiming the League as an illegal association. The principal result was the extensive development of outrages of the worst kind, while the peasantry would not or dared not give any evidence. It had been the policy of the League to keep on the windy side of the law; when the League was suppressed 'Captain Moonlight' took the law into his own hands.

The 'Kilmainham Treaty.'

The government had two alternatives. If Forster could have had his way it would have fought its hardest to conquer lawlessness by force. It took another course. If the parliamentary leaders chose to exert their influence, there was no doubt that they would be able to restrain the extreme section. Parnell and his colleagues had taken their stand on the position that it was no business of theirs to help the government in preserving order. They were released, on the understanding that they would exert their influence in that direction. Technically there was no bargain; actually there were expressions of opinion from Parnell which amounted to assurances, conveyed through a third party to the government. Forster, regarding Parnell as the arch-conspirator, objected to his release, until the authority of the law had been successfully asserted; he resigned; the Opposition, in accordance with precedent, denounced the 'Kilmainham Treaty' as a corrupt bargain on the part of the government to buy the support of the Irish party for its measures.

Forster's place as chief secretary was taken by Lord Frederick Cavendish, the brother of Lord Hartington. On the night of

his arrival in Dublin, the active under-secretary, Mr. Burke, was assassinated in the Phœnix Park. Lord Frederick was murdered at the same time, because he happened to be in Mr. Burke's company. With splendid courage Forster offered to return to his post; but this was judged inadvisable, and the chief secretaryship was accepted with a courage hardly inferior by Mr. G. O. Trevelyan. The murder was a frightful shock, to no one probably more than to Parnell, who wanted to keep the partisans of violence in check, without losing their support. Even popular sympathies in Ireland were enlisted for the murdered chief secretary, who had hurt no one. The one fortunate outcome of the crime was that it acted as some check upon outrage and agitation.

The Phœnix Park murders.

It was immediately followed, of necessity, by a new Crimes Act greatly enlarging the arbitrary powers of the executive, an Act vigorously enforced with excellent results—amongst others the capture of the assassins. Side by side with the Crimes Act was the Arrears Act, advocated by Parnell as the most urgently needed measure, by which the government paid one half and the landlords surrendered the other half of the arrears of rent due to the actual inability of tenants to pay. The £2,000,000 for this purpose was to be supplied chiefly by the Irish Church Fund. The theory of the Kilmainham 'bargain' was hardly borne out by the virulence of the Irish opposition to the Crimes Bill. The Arrears Bill was resisted with equal determination by the Opposition, especially by the Lords under Salisbury's leadership; but both the Acts were passed without material alteration. There was not, indeed, an immediate cessation of outrages, as the result either of the Phœnix Park murders, the Kilmainham Treaty, or the Crimes Act; there were, on the contrary, several murders of a very brutal character; but there was a marked increase in the detections and convictions.

1882. Crimes and Arrears Bills.

Before the year was out the place of the suppressed Land League was taken by a new National League, which continued the agrarian campaign, and was fully as hostile to the government as was its predecessor, but gave

The National League.

the first place in its programme to the demand for Irish self-government.

Lord Beaconsfield had been actually responsible for introducing the measure which democratised the House of Commons.

Salisbury's leadership in the Lords.

The House of Lords was consistently antagonistic to legislation curtailing the powers of landlords, but under Lord Beaconsfield's leadership it was not guided into direct collisions with the representative chamber. The leadership of Lord Salisbury marked a change. He frankly and avowedly distrusted the democracy; he had resigned his position in the Derby cabinet on account of his hostility to the Franchise Bill. The thing was done and could not be undone; but Lord Salisbury saw in the House of Lords the bulwark whose function it was to prevent the democratic tide from sweeping the country to destruction. As a constitutional force the peers had been losing ground ever since the great Reform Bill; it became Lord Salisbury's object to restore their energies and their powers as a counterpoise to the popular chamber. Unlike his late leader, he was steeped in Conservatism. Definite expression was given to his policy when, early in 1882, the peers at his instigation appointed a committee to inquire into the working of the Land Act, a step to which Gladstone replied by carrying a resolution of the Commons which was practically a vote of censure upon the Upper House. Lord Salisbury's committee could do nothing, and a resolution of the House of Commons was merely an expression of opinion; but the episode is significant, as marking the inauguration of a policy of identifying the House of Lords with the Conservative party.

Before the Irish bills had passed through their final stage the country in general was somewhat surprised to find that a

Egypt.

British fleet was bombarding Alexandria. Bondholders apart, no one in the country knew or thought much about Egypt, except for the momentary wave of interest excited by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. Egypt was outside the sphere of normal European relations. The Egyptian troubles originated with Egyptian finances. Theoretically the

country was a province of the Turkish empire, ruled over by the khedive, who was a hereditary viceroy. The last khedive, Ismail, had borrowed enormously, chiefly in France and England; his debts were his reason for selling his Suez Canal shares. But his creditors saw no hope of being paid as long as Egyptian finances were managed by the Egyptian government; hence he had been obliged to submit to the establishment of a joint Franco-British financial direction. Financial direction inevitably involves interference with other branches of administration; and the Egyptian bureaucracy, a supremely corrupt body, resented this foreign interference.

Ismail's successor, the Khedive Tewfik, was willing enough for reforms, but he was not master of the situation. A military party, having as its figurehead Colonel Ahmed Arabi—'Arabi Pasha,'—himself probably the tool of more cunning politicians, succeeded in dominating Tewfik, taking upon itself the character of a patriotic party, determined to secure 'Egypt for the Egyptians,' and to release her from foreign domination. Tewfik was forced to accept Arabi as minister for war. To some sincere and enthusiastic observers the movement appeared to be genuinely patriotic and commendable; the great majority of those who were comparatively in a position to judge saw in it a mere intrigue for power on the part of a group of politicians, who utilised and fomented Mohammedan hostility to the foreign Christians as a means to the attainment of purely selfish ends which had in them no element of patriotism.

1881. **Arabi Pasha.**

Whether or no Arabi was sincere, the position of the very considerable European population in Egypt was daily becoming more precarious. By the end of 1881 it was evident that something would have to be done, but the question was who was to do it. The khedive was in the hands of the Arabi group, helpless. Turkey, the suzerain, could certainly not be trusted to restore any satisfactory authority. France and Britain were obviously the two powers primarily concerned. In January 1882 they sent a joint note to Tewfik, assuring him of their support: the

1882. **A crisis approaching.**

Egyptian party treated it as an additional proof of the determination of the Europeans to assume control of Egyptian affairs. A combined French and British fleet anchored off Alexandria in May to overawe the 'patriots,' without producing any effect. It seemed the correct thing to refer the Egyptian question to the concert of Europe, and a conference was called for June. But events moved too fast to allow of waiting for that ponderous procedure.

On 11th June the mob in Alexandria rose against the Europeans and slaughtered fifty of them. A general exodus of Christians began; Arabi was busy fortifying Alexandria. At last the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, judged that action could no longer be postponed; he invited the co-operation of the French admiral, who preferred to wash his hands of the whole affair and steamed away with his squadron. Sir Beauchamp bombarded the forts; Arabi withdrew his troops; the mob rose; for two days Alexandria was the scene of massacre and pillage, while Seymour had at his disposal no force sufficient to restore order.

Alexandria bombarded, 11th July.

Inaction had become impossible for the British government; the bombardment of Alexandria had imposed upon it the duty of putting an end to the chaos which now reigned in Egypt. The Porte was notified of its intentions; an expedition was prepared and placed in charge of Sir Garnet Wolseley, another column being dispatched from India under the command of General Macpherson. Arabi proclaimed himself the champion of Islam; a large force gathered to his standard, and he entrenched himself at Tel el-Kebir. Wolseley landed in Egypt. His plans were worked out with consummate skill and precision, and on 13th September he entirely shattered Arabi's army at Tel el-Kebir. The total of the casualties of the British force was just short of 400. Arabi was captured, tried, and found guilty of rebellion, but the death sentence was changed into deportation to Ceylon.

Tel el-Kebir, 13th September.

But the overthrow of Arabi was only the beginning. The whole Egyptian system had been blown into fragments; the British had done it, and now a new system had to be con-

structed. Outside of France at least, Europe in general recognised that the British had done what was the right and necessary thing. She had done it single-handed, and it lay with her to decide what was to be done next; no one else could possibly claim a right to interfere; certainly not France, which had deliberately stood aside. If Britain elected to annex Egypt, no one except the Egyptians would be entitled to object. She did not wish to annex Egypt, but could not leave it to itself. To restore the Anglo-French dual control was out of the question. The government decided upon a military occupation and a temporary assumption of effective control of the administration until a system could be established in complete working order. But to show that the arrangement was merely temporary, the British appeared as the khedive's 'advisers' and 'assistants,' in the process of restoring order and reconstructing the government.

The 'temporary' occupation.

The ministry in England honestly hoped, and tried to persuade itself that it believed, that the occupation would cease to be necessary ere long. Gladstone had believed the same thing about the income tax. Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt in the first instance to inaugurate the new order of things; but the supreme civil authority was soon vested in Sir Evelyn Baring, the present Lord Cromer. The building up of a new Egyptian army was entrusted to Sir Evelyn Wood, afterwards succeeded by Sir Herbert Kitchener. The financial dual control vanished, and Sir Auckland Colvin became the khedive's financial adviser.

VIII. The 'Eighty' Parliament: (ii) Gladstone and Salisbury, 1883-1886 (Feb.)

During 1883, the firm and just administration of the law in Ireland, under Mr. Trevelyan and the viceroy, Earl Spencer, the comparative discouragement of outrages, and the comparative improvement in the position of the peasantry, combined to effect a steady diminution in the amount of crime. Still, however, there was a lull in domestic legislation. The 'Bradlaugh Relief Bill' was intro-

1883. Domestic legislation.

duced and rejected; a Corrupt Practices Act sought to check electoral corruption in the constituencies; an Agricultural Holdings Act abolished the power of contracting out, which had in effect nullified the Act of the late government intended to secure compensation for improvements to tenants. In India much excitement was caused by what was known as the Ilbert Bill, which was intended to give native magistrates jurisdiction in cases where Europeans were concerned. British society in India refused to contemplate the possibility of subjecting Europeans to the jurisdiction of any one not of the ruling race. This resentment appeared to a considerable portion of the public at home to be mere racial arrogance, a view shared by very few Englishmen having any actual experience of Indian conditions. The measure was ultimately promulgated in a form which did not give rise to any actual grievances; but the whole affair was singularly unfortunate, as exacerbating racial antagonisms. Although in Ireland there was a lull in the violence of agrarian agitation, the activity of the extreme section of the Irish in America increased; and public equanimity was seriously disturbed by a development of dynamiting outrages, appalling in their conception, though singularly ineffective in their outcome.

India: the Ilbert Bill.

Dynamite.

The time had now arrived for the government to carry out its intention of assimilating the rural to the borough franchise, so that the agricultural labourer might acquire representation. At the end of February 1884, Gladstone expounded his scheme, the effect of which would be to add some 2,000,000 voters to the roll; in Ireland the anticipated increase was about 400,000. There were many doubters even in the Liberal party as to the fitness of the agricultural labourer for exercising the vote; but Liberals in general inclined to the belief that responsibility would bring with it the disposition to an intelligent study of political duties, and that the labourer had a right to a voice in legislation—which in existing circumstances inevitably tended to favour the landlords and payers of wages, who possessed the vote, when their interests clashed with those of the wage-earners who were

1884. Franchise extension.

without the vote. While, therefore, what was called the Whig element among the Liberals was distinctly doubtful and apprehensive, it yielded a reluctant acquiescence. Among the official Conservatives there was also a disposition to reluctant acquiescence; the party which had made itself responsible for the democratic measure of 1867 could not very easily refuse the rural labourer what it had conceded to his urban brother. Yet this did not prevent a considerable section of the party from making it clear that they regarded the measure as at best premature.

The government, however, gave a handle to the Opposition, as Russell had done on a previous occasion, by separating the scheme of extending the franchise from its neces- **The bill.** sary accompaniment, a scheme for the redistribution of seats. The government was pursuing in Egypt an indefinite policy which laid it open to attack. If it were defeated and could be compelled to a dissolution without having passed its Franchise Bill, there was a reasonable prospect that it would be defeated at the polls; if it passed its Franchise Bill, it was tolerably certain that the new voters would cast their votes on its side. The Franchise Bill was passed in the House of Commons. The Liberals declared that the Lords had no right to force a dissolution; but when the bill came before the Upper Chamber, the peers, under Lord Salisbury's leadership, passed a resolution which, without rejecting it, demanded security that it should not come into operation except as part of a complete scheme including redistribution. Gladstone thereupon withdrew the bill, but refused to introduce his redistribution scheme at the dictation of the House of Lords, and announced his intention of again introducing the measure in an autumn session. Lord Salisbury was putting to the test his doctrine that it was the function of the hereditary chamber to redress the democratic balance in the representative chamber. Through the summer a fiery agitation was carried on in the country, most prominently by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley, who denounced hereditary legislators who 'toil not neither do they spin,' and declared that the House of Lords must be either 'mended or ended.'

The Lords suspend the bill.

A constitutional crisis appeared to be imminent. But Gladstone himself and several members of the cabinet were anxious to avoid a struggle, which might involve organic changes in the constitution. The queen, too, was urgent in her desire to avoid a crisis. When the autumn session opened there was a general feeling that compromise was in the air. The government was willing to satisfy the Opposition that it had no intention of 'jerrymandering' the constituencies, and arranging the redistribution so as to give undue weight to its own political supporters. Meetings took place between the leaders of the two parties in both Houses. It was agreed between them that the Redistribution Bill should be a joint product, not a party measure; the lines upon which it was to be framed were settled in conference.

A compromise, November.

The Franchise Bill was passed in the Commons through all its stages, and the day before it came up for its third reading in the Lords the second reading of the Redistribution Bill was carried in the Commons (4th December). The general principle of the Redistribution Bill was that each of the newly arranged constituencies, with very few exceptions, should return one member only, the large boroughs being divided into two or more constituencies. Of the existing seats 160 were extinguished; all boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 would be absorbed in the counties; existing boroughs, with a population between 15,000 and 50,000 would have one member; those between 50,000 and 165,000 would be one constituency with two members; those above 165,000 would be divided into single-member constituencies; Lancashire and Yorkshire would receive fifteen and sixteen additional members respectively; the counties, with the exception of Rutland and Hereford, of which the populations entitled them only to one member apiece, were divided into single-member constituencies. The Redistribution Bill was not actually passed until June 1885; before that end was attained there was much fighting over details in the Commons, since the Opposition were by no means satisfied with the attitude adopted by their leaders.

The Redistribution Bill, December.

1885. The bill passed, June.

Meanwhile, however, matters had not been going well with the government elsewhere. Most fatal was the course of events in Egypt. Egypt proper extends south, as far up the Nile as Wadi Halfa, at the Second Cataract. South of this is the great district known as the Egyptian Sudan, occupied by fanatical tribes, Arabs and Berbers, and, theoretically, controlled from sundry military stations. As a matter of fact, the Egyptian Sudan never was under control. In this region there arose a Mahdi, a claimant, that is, to the position of Mohammed's successor, a new 'prophet,' who rallied the fanatical tribes to his standard, and threatened to destroy the garrisons at the various forts. The British government in its own view had no concern with the Sudan, and would not help the khedive to re-establish his authority there. This Tewfik attempted to do on his own account, and sent a considerable but wholly inefficient force to accomplish the task under the command of Hicks Pasha. Hicks and his army were cut to pieces. Wolseley, now a viscount, urged that reinforcements should be sent to the three principal stations—at Suakim, on the coast of the Red Sea; at Berber, above the Fifth Cataract; and at Khartum, above the Sixth Cataract. But the British government refused to make itself responsible for the Sudan; and the Egyptian government could not hold it without British assistance. At the same time, it was probable that the Mahdi would become a serious menace to Egypt itself, and there was a grave obligation either to support the garrisons, or to withdraw them from their critical position.

1883. The Sudan and the Mahdi.

A British soldier, General Charles George Gordon, commonly known as Chinese Gordon, on account of the services he had rendered to the Chinese government in the Taeping Rebellion, had acted with extraordinary success as governor of the Sudan in the service of the former khedive, Ismail. In an unhappy hour the British government resolved to entrust Gordon with the very difficult task of withdrawing the troops. Had Gordon been simply a man of exceptional ability with exceptional knowledge of the conditions, the course would have been a wise one; but he was also exceptional in

General Gordon.


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
ARABIA
TRIPOLI
Acre
Alexandria
Aboukir
Rosetta
Damietta
Port Said
Tel el Kebir
Suez
Cairo
Fayum
R. Nile
EGYPT
RED SEA
Assuan
1st. Cataract
Desert
2nd. Cataract
Wadi Halfa
Mecca
3rd. Cataract
New Dongola
4th. Cataract
R. Nile
Tamai
Sinkat
Suakin
El Teb
Old Dongola
Korti
5th. Cataract
Berber
Tokar
Metemma
R. Atbara
ANGLO-
6th. Cataract
Omdurman
Khartum
Massowah
ERITREA
Kassala
R. Mareb
EGYPTIAN
Adowa
El Obeid
Kordofan
Blue Nile
Darfur
SUDAN
White Nile
Magdala
ABYSSINIA
FRENCH
EQUATORIAL
AFRICA
Fashoda
Bahr el Ghazal
R. Nile
BELGIAN CONGO
UGANDA
Lake Rudolf
BRITISH
EAST AFRICA
L. Albert Nyanza
L. Victoria Nyanza
EGYPT, the NILE and the SUDAN
English Miles
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other respects. Left to himself with a perfectly free hand, Gordon was capable of accomplishing tasks which to any one else would have appeared entirely impossible; but he himself was impossible as a subordinate. A puritan and a mystic, he had the 'faith which can move mountains,' and the absolute confidence in himself inspired by that belief. But he had no notion of acting against his own judgment, merely because that judgment required him to act in direct opposition to his instructions. And the government, in making the appointment, expressly refused him a free hand.

The judgments passed by the Opposition in 1884 demanded subsequent modification from a party point of view. At that time the ministry was angrily denounced for pursuing a 'policy of scuttle,' as in 1881 it had been denounced for 'surrendering' to the victorious Boers in South Africa. In both cases the Opposition pointed to Mr. Chamberlain as the arch-criminal. In both cases Lord Hartington shared the responsibility with his colleagues, and was at least not sufficiently dissatisfied with their action to withdraw from the government. The Opposition learnt in after years to revise their impressions of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain—that to run away was the very last thing that Mr. Chamberlain would do. The Government blundered, but it was not from pusillanimity; it was from its failure to realise the gravity of the situation which had arisen. The blunder did not lie in the refusal to accept responsibility for establishing a strong government in the Sudan, or in adopting the only alternative policy of evacuating the Sudan. But if the province was to be evacuated, the garrisons could only be withdrawn by a strong military force; and it would still be necessary to hold a sound strategical frontier in force. Instead of taking its measures accordingly, the Government announced emphatically that there should be no military expedition; and no strategic frontier was decided upon.

The government policy.

Hitherto the British public had taken only a passing interest in Gordon; but when he went to Egypt it suddenly woke up to the fact that he was a very remarkable man. Its imagina-

tion, not easily stirred, was gripped by his personality; he became as he fully deserved to be, its hero. It would have cheerfully helped him to go his own way without regard to the consequences. But the Government had chosen him not that he might dictate their policy, but as the most efficient instrument for carrying it out. When he went up to the Sudan the situation had just been made more serious through a reverse suffered by an Egyptian force at the hands of the Mahdi's followers. Gordon had arrived at the conclusion that the Mahdi must be 'smashed,' and a strong government set up in the Sudan; to which end he demanded that he should have the assistance of one Zebehr, a notorious slaver, but a person of great influence. But he could have neither Zebehr, nor troops. Gordon got as far as Khartum, and there he was in effect beleaguered before the end of March.

1884. Gordon in the Sudan.

The ministry in England succeeded in persuading itself that his movements were free, though already the queen was urging the necessity of sending an expedition to his relief. The ministry took the matter in consideration; but it was also thinking about the Franchise Bill and the House of Lords; it was annoyed, not without excuse, because if Gordon had simply acted upon his instructions, instead of assuming that there would be a change of policy if he demanded it, he would never have been shut up in Khartum; and it declined to believe that there was any need for haste. There was an apparently interminable controversy as to the best route for effecting the relief; and it was not till 1st September that Lord Wolseley left England to take the command of the expedition.

Fatal delays.

When once the men of action were set free, the preparations went forward with all speed. The Nile route had been decided upon in preference to that by Suakim and the Red Sea. At Korti the Nile takes a great loop, traversing three sides of a square before it reaches Metemma, some hundred miles below Khartum. To save time, therefore, a column was dispatched from Korti by land to Metemma, where it would be necessary to re-embark. There were two sharp fights on the way at Abu

1885. The tragedy of Khartum, January.

Klea and Gubat. The death of General Stewart gave the command to Sir Charles Wilson, who delayed for four days at Metemma; for which there were sound enough military reasons—except on the hypothesis that all risks must be taken in order to reach Khartum at the first possible moment, whatever it might cost. The Mahdi took advantage of the delay, and rushed the defences of Khartum. When Wilson's force arrived on 28th January the town had fallen, and Gordon was dead. Khartum sealed the fate both of the Sudan and of the Gladstone ministry. The Sudan was left to the Mahdi and his successor for eleven years. In England the failure to relieve Gordon was received with an outburst of sorrow and anger, though the denunciations of desertion and betrayal went a good deal further than the facts warranted.

On the top of Khartum came another incident in another quarter, which damaged the government. In 1884, when politicians in England were sufficiently engaged with the domestic and the Egyptian problems, Russia occupied Merv, thereby violating the formal understanding that it was outside the Russian sphere. The pacific Foreign Office protested, but agreed to the appointment of a joint commission for the delimitation of the Afghan and Russian frontiers. The Russian commissioner delayed, while the Russian troops occupied strategic points. On 29th March 1885, the Turcoman commander Ali Khan, whose name appeared in English papers in the conveniently Russianised form of Alikanoff, attacked or got himself attacked by Afghan troops at Penjdeh. The official repudiation of his action was mitigated by the present of a sword of honour. He had undoubtedly provoked the collision. But submission was impossible. Gladstone expressed himself in the House in unmistakable language; the reserves were called out; the Russian government realised the necessity for diplomatic retreat; the Amir was judicious enough to minimise the affair. But public opinion condemned the government for the haste with which it accepted the very inadequate explanations of the Russian government, and its readiness to condone what had been done in order to facilitate the progress of a peaceful

Penjdeh, March.

delimitation. The particular question was referred to the arbitration of the king of Denmark, the outcome of which satisfied the Amir, though it was generally felt that Britain had suffered a diplomatic defeat.

The Penjdeh crisis was at its height at the end of April. The cabinet was much divided, especially as to its Irish programme. Six weeks later it was defeated on a clause in the budget, and Gladstone resigned. A dissolution was impracticable until the machinery of the Franchise and Redistribution Acts could be adjusted; and Lord Salisbury accepted office on the understanding that in the interim he was to have the support of the Opposition in carrying on the routine of the queen's government.

Resignation of government, June.

Lord Salisbury was not disposed to invite the hostility of the Irish members in the existing conditions. No fresh Coercion Bill was introduced, and the maintenance of order in Ireland was left to the ordinary law. The government introduced a bill, known as the Ashbourne Act, in order to facilitate land purchase by government advances to the tenants of the whole amount required to make the purchase—a measure which involved a grant of £5,000,000. Lord Carnarvon had been made lord-lieutenant; he was known to be disposed towards an extension of self-government in Ireland, and he held some conversations with Parnell, which in the eyes of the Opposition were highly compromising. In the Commons Lord Randolph Churchill, who had succeeded in driving the former leader into the Upper House as Lord Iddesleigh, attacked the late administration of Lord Spencer in Ireland in a manner which more than suggested that he was making a bid for the Parnellite vote at the coming general election. Parliament rose in August as preliminary to a dissolution and a general election which followed in November.

Salisbury forms a government.

Irish conversations.

The Liberals were without an official programme; it had long been extremely difficult to harmonise the Whig or Hartington and the Radical or Chamberlain sections, and Mr. Chamberlain produced an 'unauthorised programme' extremely distasteful to the other section of the

Party programmes.

party, and denounced by the Conservatives as socialistic—a term which had not yet come to be applied, as a matter of course, to measures emanating from the Liberal party. Parnell's programme was simple and direct; it was national independence for Ireland. As to Gladstone's, there were suspicions that he was contemplating some startling proposal with regard to Ireland, but his public utterances gave no clue to his intentions. Seldom had a general election been attended with more uncertainty than that of 1885. But as yet there had been no formal break up of the Liberals. The rural electors cast their votes on the whole for the party which had enfranchised them, except in Ireland, where every Liberal was unseated, and Parnell came back to Westminster with a following of eighty-five. The Liberals, if they acted together, would constitute just one half of the assembly.

The publication of an unauthorised announcement, which was supposed, not incorrectly, to embody Gladstone's intentions with regard to Ireland, intensified the misgivings in the minds of many Liberals. But at least all doubt disappeared as to any possible bargains between the Conservatives and the Parnellites. Until the unauthorised scheme of Home Rule should become authorised, Mr. Chamberlain and his followers were as anxious as Gladstone himself to turn the Conservatives out. Parnell, on the other hand, had both the will and the power to make impossible any government which did not choose to conciliate him. Gladstone, when parliament met, implied his readiness to support the government in devising a non-party scheme for the extension of Irish self-government; but Lord Carnarvon had left the cabinet, and it was at once evident that nothing of the kind was in contemplation by the ministry. The renewal of coercion was now part of its programme. An amendment to the address, in effect calling for a measure with the object of establishing small holdings for agricultural labourers, was moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, a faithful supporter of Mr. Chamberlain, and was carried against the government. Lord Salisbury resigned (1st February 1886), and the queen sent for Gladstone.

CHAPTER VIII. THE FIRST HOME RULE STRUGGLE, 1886-1895

I. The New Battle-Ground, 1886

The year 1886 marks a new line of cleavage. Since the passing of the Act of Union with Ireland in the year 1800, the two great political parties at Westminster through all their vicissitudes had regarded the principle of maintaining the Union, of preserving a single parliament for the three kingdoms, as axiomatic. In 1886, the bulk of one of the two great parties arrived at the conclusion that the axiom was fallacious, and committed itself to the principle of devolution upon Nationalist lines, involving at least the establishment of some kind of a parliament at Dublin for the management of exclusively Irish affairs. Another section of that party agreed with the whole of the other party in refusing to abandon the axiom, persisting in the view that the affairs of each division of the United Kingdom should be directed by one common parliament. Thus at the outset there was formed a third party, comparatively small in numbers, but disproportionately powerful from the weight and influence of its members, the party which took the name of Liberal Unionists. Until 1895 the Liberal Unionists, with nearly the same numbers as the Irish Nationalists, co-operated with the Conservatives, but there was no coalition. In 1895, the two parties formed a coalition, and were gradually merged in a single Unionist party; that is, except in a few localities, parliamentary candidates called themselves not Conservatives or Liberal Unionists, but simply Unionists. At only one general election since 1885 have Unionist voters supported Liberal candidates, because at that particular

Party disruption.

election the Liberals were pledged not to deal with the question till after another dissolution.

No similar line of cleavage between parties had existed since the passage of the great Reform Bill. Neither Free Trade nor franchise extension had provided anything of the kind. Free Trade and franchise extension, before they came, were more generally advocated by Liberals than by Conservatives; that was all. It was a minister in a Tory cabinet, Huskisson, who initiated Free Trade; it was a Conservative minister, Peel, who, with Liberal support, carried Free Trade, though it was a Liberal chancellor of the exchequer, Gladstone, who brought it to completion. It was a Conservative ministry which, in conjunction with the Liberals, carried the Franchise Bill of 1867; and official Conservatism avowedly supported in principle the Franchise Bill of 1884. In short, the battles in parliament had been waged over particular issues; one particular issue had never remained the controlling or predominant factor in a long series of general elections. **Its completeness.**

The splitting up of the Liberal party in 1886 carried into the new Liberal Unionist party most of the Whig wing, and a fraction of the Radical wing of the Liberals. By so doing it considerably strengthened for the time the democratic element in the Conservative party, and ultimately to a very slight extent democratised the Unionist party. For, on the one hand, it tended to make the Liberal Unionists more Conservative, and, on the other, to make the Liberal centre more Radical. While the Liberals had been in office Lord Salisbury began to develop his policy of using the House of Lords as a counterpoise to the democratic tendencies of the House of Commons. The accentuation of Radicalism in the Liberal party following upon its severance from the Liberal Unionists, made the House of Lords all the more definitely a Unionist body whose support could be counted upon by a Unionist government, as certainly as its hostility would have to be reckoned with by a Liberal government. The permanent identification of one of the two legislative chambers with one **Democratic influence.**

Anti-democratic influence.

political party, of which hitherto there had only been threatenings, gradually developed a constitutional issue which had been anticipated in the 'Mending or Ending' campaign of 1884.

Party principles.

In other respects the old vague lines of demarcation survived. The tendency of the one party was to look upon vested interests and established privileges as existing by indefeasible right, the tendency of the other was to suspect anything that looked like privilege of being a wrong that ought to be removed. Where the interests of the Established Church and the Nonconformists were antagonistic, one party consistently favoured the Establishment and the other the Nonconformists. Both parties treated the question of state intervention, when they themselves were in office, as one which should be decided upon the merits of the particular case, whether the intervention were in the character of restriction or of State aid. As to the principles of conducting foreign policy, there was no line of demarcation at all. Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Lord Lansdowne, and Sir Edward Grey varied in their direction of foreign affairs only because they were different persons, not because they belonged to different parties. Among the rank and file, however, there was a keener sensitiveness on the score of British interests and British prestige on the one side, and a keener sympathy for oppressed populations on the other; and there was an inclination on the part of the Conservative party to assume that they were the depositaries of 'peace with honour,' and the Liberals of 'peace at any price,' based upon the records of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Granville, who was never at the Foreign Office after 1885. For some while, distrust of Russia was stronger on one side, and dislike of Turkey on the other, but the fact found no expression at the Foreign Office.

Parties and the colonies.

With regard to the colonies, it could not be said at least until 1895 that there was any distinction of attitude. The colonies were generally neglected and left to go their own way without help or hindrance, unless they wanted to do something which might have a disturbing effect on foreign relations. There was, however, in both parties

a growing element, represented most conspicuously on one side by Lord Rosebery, and on the other by Lord Carnarvon, who rejected the accepted doctrine that the connection between the colonies and the mother country was merely a temporary one. The general public regarded their imperial claims as amiable but impracticable illusions until Mr. Chamberlain took charge of the Colonial Office; but between 1885 and 1895 the expansion of other powers gave a new aspect to the colonial question—or, at least, an aspect heretofore unrealised.

The scramble for Africa.

The colonising power of Spain, Portugal, and Holland had long been exhausted. They had no inducement towards expansion, and no capacity for it. The two other colonising powers, Britain and France, had fought out their main struggle in the eighteenth century. North America had been secured for the British race, though only a portion of it for the British empire. France had been expelled from India, and the British flag planted in Australia and New Zealand. France was left virtually without prospect of expansion, except in Northern Africa. But of the dark continent itself, only a comparatively small portion, little more than patches of coast, was occupied by civilised powers. Save in the British colonies, there was no outlet left for superabundant European populations except in Africa; and there were other European countries besides those which already possessed colonies, which had just realised or were realising that they too wanted room for expansion. They looked at the map and found all the great spaces in the temperate zones already occupied by the British, but vast regions in tropical Africa unclaimed. The explorations of H. M. Stanley in the seventies encouraged King Leopold of Belgium to take up the idea of developing a Belgian dependency on the Congo river. Stanley's return in 1882 from another expedition undertaken on behalf of King Leopold marked the point at which other European nations suddenly awoke to the somewhat problematic possibilities of Africa; with the result that a general conference was held in the winter of 1884-5, which in general terms arranged a partition of Africa among the powers, though

this partition was of a vague and preliminary character. In 1885 the Congo Free State was defined, Germany had appropriated a great territory called German East Africa, Britain was in formal occupation of a more northern region reaching to the borders of the Sudan, called British East Africa; France was dominant in North Africa, Egypt and the Gold Coast excepted; the whole process of partition, though as yet by no means completed, was at least very thoroughly initiated.

A week after Gladstone took office, London was startled by a riot. Trade was bad, and during this winter the ranks of the unemployed were swelled to very large numbers. An assembly was brought together by the small group who had recently, to deaf ears, been reviving the demand for Protection under the name of Fair Trade. They intended to impress upon the working-man that tariffs on imported manufactures were the true remedy for unemployment. The meeting, however, was captured by the Social Democratic Federation, a Socialist body which hitherto had not attracted much attention from the authorities. The mob smashed a large number of windows after hearing some inflammatory addresses, and frightened a great many people, but otherwise did much less harm than might have been expected, since the police were entirely unprepared. The riot, however, was significant of the fact that low wages and unemployment were again providing inducements to a revolutionary propaganda among the working classes, and that they were dissatisfied with the outcome of the recognition of trade unions from which so much had been anticipated. From this time forward there was a growing movement towards the establishment of a Labour party in parliament, seeking to procure legislation, not, as in the past, with the object of enabling the working-man to bargain on equal terms with the employer, but in order to confer upon him an effective control over the materials and methods of production.

1886. A riot in London.

During 1885, there had been a general impression that the Conservatives were dallying with the idea of conceding some-

thing in the nature of Home Rule. The publication of the unauthorised scheme of Home Rule had been regarded as a counter-move; and the Salisbury government responded to it by assuming an attitude of unmistakable hostility to the Parnellites. There is no doubt at all that the Whig element in the Liberal party would have nothing to say to Home Rule; the Radical wing, on the other hand, headed by Mr. Chamberlain, had taken up the scheme not of creating an Irish legislature, but of a large extension of local self-government, including the establishment of a central board in Dublin. But Gladstone, before the election, declined to formulate an Irish programme until the electors in Ireland gave a clear pronouncement as to what they themselves wanted. The pronouncement, which gave Parnell a solid party of eighty-six members, was tolerably definite, and convinced Gladstone that the Irish democracy did in fact demand the establishment of an Irish legislature. He had hoped that the general election would return his own party to power with a majority so emphatic as to enable it to deal with the Irish question according to its own judgment, unhampered by any need of Irish Nationalist votes. He had been disappointed. Even if the whole Liberal party voted solidly together, it could never be secure of a majority without Nationalist support.

Effect of the election on Gladstone.

When therefore he was called upon to take office, it was at once clear that the provision of something in the nature of an Irish legislature was in contemplation, and that in view of that fact he would not have the Whigs with him. Of his former colleagues, Hartington, Selborne, Bright, Goschen, and Sir Henry James at once declined to join him. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan came into the cabinet conditionally upon their finding his Irish plan satisfactory when it should be produced. When it was produced both of them retired. Yet the cabinet which included Earl Spencer, Mr. John Morley, Lord Granville, Lord Herschell, Lord Rosebery as foreign secretary, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Childers, could not be called a weak one; and it was undoubtedly courageous.

The new cabinet.

Gladstone's proposals were embodied in two bills. The intention was to provide Ireland with a legislature of her own to deal with purely Irish affairs without impairing the supremacy of the imperial parliament; and at the same time to withdraw from it any inducement to deal with the land question in a manner unjust to the landlords. Whether the bills put forward would have effected their purpose is another question. One bill proposed to create an Irish legislature with control over the Irish executive, but with none over the army, the navy, or foreign and colonial relations. Ireland was no longer to send any representatives at all to the parliament at Westminster, but she was to pay her share, one fourteenth, to the imperial exchequer. The second measure dealt with the land question; it was a land purchase scheme enabling landlords to sell their property to a state authority at twenty years' purchase; that authority would sell in turn to the tenants, thus establishing a peasant proprietary, the tenants making their payments in annual instalments. £120,000,000 would be required to effect the initial purchase by the State.

Home Rule with Land Purchase.

Now the whole idea of reinstating an Irish legislature was in effect new. Hardly any one except the Irish Repealers had looked upon it as one which demanded any serious consideration. Although a large proportion of the Liberal party had made up its mind to follow its leader, the public at large had by no means adjusted its views to the new idea. There were those who had come to the independent conclusion that the Irish question would never be settled until Ireland managed her own affairs. There were those who had not formed any judgment, but were prepared to follow Gladstone. There were those who were definitely convinced that Ireland was absolutely unfit to manage her own affairs. There were those who were convinced that Home Rule would in any case be merely used as a stepping-stone for separation. There were those who supported Home Rule simply in order that the parliament at Westminster might be rid of Parnellites. There were those who were not averse from Home Rule in the

Diversities of opinion.

abstract, but did not see how any concrete scheme could be rendered compatible with imperial supremacy. Among those who were not opposed to Home Rule at any price, the great question was whether or no Irish representatives should continue to sit at Westminster.

In the view of one group, which was met by Gladstone's measure, the exclusion of the Irish members was imperative; the principal advantage to be derived from Home Rule was release from the Irish vote; besides, it was absurd that Irishmen should have a voice in legislation for Great Britain, while Great Britain had no voice in legislation for Ireland. To the other group, the exclusion of the Irish members made the measure definitely separatist. It treated Ireland as if she had no interest in imperial affairs, in the empire to which she had supplied so many great parliamentarians, soldiers, and administrators, from Burke and the Wellesleys to the Lawrences; as a consequence, her interest in it would perish. The whole of this group was at once alienated by the government bill. The Land Bill excited no less hostility. The country was going to provide an enormous sum for land purchase, with no security whatever for its repayment. The Home Rule Bill was defeated by a majority of thirty on its second reading, and Gladstone decided upon an immediate appeal to the electorate.

Defeat and dissolution.

II. The Conservative Ministry: Domestic Affairs, 1886-1892

The general election was decisive. It did not indeed show that the country had made up its mind finally either for or against Home Rule, a question of very far-reaching importance which it had never before taken under consideration. But it was proved beyond question that the particular bill was dead, and that the country declined to be hurried into any new scheme. In the constituencies there was in effect a compact which forbade Conservatives to stand in opposition to Liberal Unionists, or Liberal Unionists to stand in opposition to Conservatives. When the elections were over,

1886. Coalition deferred.

78 Liberal Unionists were returned, while the Conservatives alone outnumbered the Gladstonians and Parnellites together by 35; the total Unionist majority was 113. Gladstone at once resigned. Though there were four times as many Conservatives as dissentient Liberals, the latter body comprised so many leading men of recognised weight and character that Lord Salisbury was not only prepared for a coalition, but even invited Lord Hartington to assume the leadership, himself offering to take a subordinate position. But Lord Hartington as yet was not prepared for fusion; it was by no means certain that the Liberal split, on the one question of Home Rule, would be permanent. The party preferred to remain as a separate party, giving a general support to a Conservative government, as the Peelites had supported Russell after the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Lord Salisbury's cabinet.

Lord Salisbury then, as a matter of course, accepted the duty of forming a ministry, which he constructed entirely from the Conservative party. The Foreign Office was in the hands of Lord Iddesleigh. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who in 1885 had been chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, gave way in both capacities to Lord Randolph Churchill, himself taking the Irish secretaryship. Lord Randolph's promotion was viewed with considerable apprehension; throughout the administration from 1880 to 1885 he had played the part of a free-lance, following his own devices often in open rebellion against his official chiefs. His talents, however, were so conspicuous that he believed himself to be indispensable, and it appeared for the moment that the rest of the party chiefs shared his belief. Disillusionment, however, was not long postponed.

Lord Randolph Churchill and others.

Before the end of the year there were troubles in the Near East, ominous of war between Austria and Russia. The government was determined to be ready for contingencies. Lord Randolph as chancellor of the exchequer insisted upon economies in the spending departments, and the spending departments objected emphatically. If Lord Randolph had carried the

day, his domination would have been assured. He saw no one in the Conservative ranks who could take his place as chancellor of the exchequer. But he 'forgot Goschen,' in whom the Liberal Unionists possessed a financier of the highest ability. The Whig section at least of that party was in sympathy with the government's views upon the Eastern situation. To his own extreme surprise, Lord Randolph found his resignation accepted, and his place taken by Mr. Goschen. Immediately following upon this there were some changes in the cabinet. Lord Iddesleigh retired, under pressure, and died suddenly; Lord Salisbury again took the Foreign Office as well as the premiership. The leadership of the House of Commons was given to Mr. W. H. Smith, who had won the respect of the House by his character and his pre-eminent common sense, and who now gave up the War Office to Mr. Edward Stanhope, himself becoming first lord of the treasury in succession to Lord Salisbury. Sir Henry Holland, afterwards Lord Knutsford, took Mr. Stanhope's place as colonial secretary.

Ireland.

But when the new government met the new parliament in August, Lord Randolph's resignation was still in the future, and it was he who announced the intentions of the government with regard to Ireland. Latterly he had given great offence to the Irish Nationalists, and his declaration that the government intended to rely upon the ordinary law for the suppression of disorder was interpreted as implying that the landlords should be encouraged in using to the full all the powers which they enjoyed under the ordinary law. Parnell promptly introduced a Tenants' Relief Bill for the protection of tenants, by giving the land court powers to stay evictions where tenants paid half their rent. The bill was rejected, and in October the Nationalists, independently of Parnell, devised and promptly placed in working order what was known as 'The Plan of Campaign.' Evictions had been carried out in circumstances of extreme hardship, especially on the Clanricarde estate. Tenants were now instructed that they were to offer their landlords what they agreed among

The 'Plan of Campaign.'

themselves in regarding as a fair rent; and if the landlord refused it they were to hand the amount of the fair rent to a committee, whose business it would be to use the funds so constituted for fighting the landlords. The result was that during the winter the battle was in full swing, landlords refusing the proffered rent and evicting the tenants, the tenants resisting eviction and penalising according to the recognised methods any one who attempted to occupy their holdings. The 'Plan' was undeniably open law-breaking, which Parnell never advocated.

The Radicals among the Liberal Unionists were on the side of Lord Randolph in his quarrel with the government, and an attempt was made to draw Mr. Chamberlain back into the Liberal party. The negotiations which followed are generally known as the Round Table Conference. An attempt was made to arrive at some basis for a Home Rule scheme upon which Mr. Chamberlain and his former colleagues could agree. Although it came to nothing, it still appeared that, apart from that particular question, Mr. Chamberlain, especially since Lord Randolph's resignation, was very much more in accord with the Liberal party than with the Conservative government. Hopes on one side and fears on the other were entertained that an agreement was still possible, with the general result that the government found itself impelled to give its measures a very much more Liberal colour than it would otherwise have been disposed to do.

The Round Table Conference.

Another change in the cabinet of great importance was brought about by the retirement, at the beginning of March, of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, for reasons of health, and the appointment of Mr. Arthur Balfour to the chief secretaryship for Ireland. There fell to him the unique credit of having made his reputation and secured his future career in an office which had generally proved disastrous to his predecessors. He brought to the discharge of his duties a perfect fearlessness, an imperturbable good temper, and an indomitable resolution which established him as an administrator and a parliamentarian of the highest class, and com-

1887. Mr. Balfour.

pelled the admiration of his bitterest opponents; while his own nerves remained entirely unshaken.

As a preliminary to other business, the first parliamentary measure in 1887 was a Procedure Act—the introduction of new rules of procedure in order to curtail obstructive debating. The closure was angrily resisted as a tyrannical method of suppressing free speech and open discussion. One government after another since the first development of parliamentary obstruction by the Irish Home Rulers had found it necessary to resort to summary measures for curtailing debates; one government after another in the future was to find it necessary to adopt rules ever more and more restrictive if it was ever to get through its business. Every Government in turn has been denounced for its tyranny by the Opposition of the day, and when that Opposition has again found itself in power it has in turn laid itself open to the same denunciations.

The closure.

The procedure rules were passed, and two new measures were introduced for the better government of Ireland. First coercion. A Criminal Law Amendment Act recognised the futility of proceeding by periodical suspensions of the law by special Act of parliament. The new bill extended the powers of the lord-lieutenant, enabling him to declare leagues or combinations illegal, and to proclaim disturbed districts, in which a system of arbitrary government at once came into force. The debates on the Crimes Bill were singularly acrimonious. Direct charges were brought against the National League and its chiefs of being connected with criminal organisations. While the debates were going on, the *Times* published what purported to be the facsimile of a letter written by Parnell, deliberately condoning the Phœnix Park murder. Parnell contemptuously denounced the thing as a forgery, and repeated his old condemnation of the murder, though for the time the matter went no further. The bill was fought day by day; it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it would have gone on being fought month by month but for the stringent application of the new procedure rules. It actually became law in July.

The Crimes Act.

Along with coercion came conciliation in the form of a Land Bill. A commission which had been appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Act reported in favour of a revision of the judicial rents. The government would not adopt the recommendation, but its Land Bill extended to leaseholders the right of submitting their rent to the land court for revision; county courts were to have the right of suspending evictions, and allowing time for the payment of rents. Owing, however, to pressure from the Liberal Unionists, the government subsequently made some additional concessions in favour of tenants which were very angrily denounced by the landlords.

A Land Act.

The celebration during the summer of Queen Victoria's jubilee, the fiftieth year of her reign, was made the occasion of a great imperial display, which was not without effect in bringing home to the imagination of the British people the immensity and diversity of the British empire to which they were slowly beginning to awaken. The jubilee celebrations did not immediately affect political events.

The Jubilee.

As the Crimes Act strengthened the hands of the law, it strengthened also the popular hostility to the law. The plan of campaign was vigorously worked. In the late summer the Irish viceroy, Lord Londonderry, declared the National League a dangerous association. Its meetings were forbidden, and were held in defiance of the police. Serious collisions took place; at Mitchelstown, the constabulary fired on the populace; in spite of angry denunciations the government refused to bring the police to trial. Language was used by Gladstone and other less responsible members of the Opposition which was easily interpreted as a condonation of violent resistance to the law. Some of the Irish leaders were arrested, and not altogether unfortunately some comic relief was afforded to a tragic situation by a vain attempt to compel Mr. William O'Brien to clothe himself in prison garments.

Irish disturbances.

Before the Union with Ireland, when the Irish parliament consisted exclusively of Protestants, although Roman Catholics

were latterly admitted to the electorate, the resistance to incorporation with the parliament of Great Britain had centred in the Protestants whose strength lay in the province of Ulster. After Catholic emancipation the demand for repeal was taken up principally by the Roman Catholic leaders, and was resisted by the Protestants. The explanation is simple. The Protestants wanted an independent parliament, so long as they were certain of controlling that parliament. A change which made it certain that the great majority in the electorate, and probably among the members of an Irish parliament, would be Roman Catholics, made that body as anxious for independence as the Protestants had previously been; whereas the Protestants, still retaining the greater influence at Westminster, were opposed to an independent parliament in which Roman Catholics would predominate. As soon as Home Rule was actually brought into the sphere of practical politics, English Protestantism was moved by the fear that Home Rule would be Rome rule; a fear intensified by the fact that from the time when the purely political agitation of Fenianism gave place to the combined political and agrarian agitation of the Land League and its successor the National League, the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland were soon enrolled among the most energetic supporters of the movement. Nevertheless the fact remained that since the formation of the Home Rule party its two actual chiefs, Butt and Parnell, had both been Protestants. The suspicion was beginning to establish itself among the most earnest adherents of the Roman Catholic religion that, in the long run at least, the establishment of an independent Irish legislature would diminish rather than increase the influence of the Roman Catholic Church; though Calvinistic Protestantism in Ireland, with its puritan and covenanting tradition, remained unsusceptible to any such impression.

Protestants, Catholics, and Home Rule.

It was, however, extremely significant that early in 1888 a decree was issued from the Vatican in consequence of the mission of Monsignor Persico, forbidding the plan of campaign and the practice of boycotting. That decree

1888. The papal decree.

was answered by a resolution of forty Irish Roman Catholic members of parliament pronouncing that the Vatican had no right to interfere with the Irish people in the management of their political affairs. Only a very limited effect was produced by the papal decree, and from that time it was tolerably evident that a dominant Roman Catholic majority would not be an instrument manipulated by the Papacy.

The government and Mr. Balfour continued imperturbably to carry out the principle of 'resolute government' embodied in the recent Crimes Act, regardless of the denunciations poured down upon them by Liberals and National Leaguers, and of the organised resistance of the tenants. It appeared that Ireland was not to block the way for domestic legislation in Great Britain. The influence of Liberal ideas on Conservative legislation found expression in the Local Government Bill, introduced in March by Mr. Ritchie. Following the principles of the Municipal Corporations Act of fifty years before, administrative councils were set up for the counties, taking over the powers which had hitherto been vested in the magistrates. Three-fourths of the members of the councils were to be elected, and the balance co-opted as 'aldermen' by the elected members. All ratepayers were to be electors. Within each county council area, there were subordinate district councils, also elected, to deal with specific branches of local administration. The larger towns which were not already separate municipalities were withdrawn from the county administration and were constituted as separate counties. In the new metropolitan county, however, the city of London was in effect retained under the separate jurisdiction of its corporation, and the metropolitan police remained under the control, not of the London County Council, but of the Home Office.

The Local Government Act.

Mr. Goschen's budget at the same time was notable for the great conversion scheme, which ultimately reduced the interest payable on consols to 2½ per cent. instead of 3 per cent. But important as these measures were, they found what might be called general acceptance with

Conversion of consols.

both parties. Introduced by a Liberal government they would probably have been resisted by Conservatism; introduced by the Conservative government, a Liberal Opposition could only criticise details, accept the principles, and declare that the government was doing their work for them.

The O'Donnell libel action.

The course of the summer provided a new sensation. While the Crimes Act was fighting its way through the House of Commons in 1887, the *Times* newspaper was carrying on a vigorous campaign in its support by the publication of a series of articles entitled 'Parnellism and Crime,' intended to prove the intimate association of Parnell and the Land League with definitely criminal associations of individuals. The articles were avowedly a challenge to the Irish members. It was argued that if they refused to take legal steps to vindicate themselves from the charges levelled against them, it could only be because the charges were true. The Parnellites on the other hand repudiated the argument, claiming that if the charges were true, which they were not, it was the business of those who could prove them to take action against the accused persons for criminal conduct. One member of the party, however, Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, took up the challenge and brought an action against the *Times* for libel. The action failed on the ground that Mr. O'Donnell himself was not specifically attacked; but the trial again brought into prominence the whole question, and especially the Phœnix Park letter and others attributed by the *Times* to Parnell himself.

The Parnell commission appointed.

Parnell, then, while repeating his repudiation of the letters and the charges, refused to take action personally, but demanded the appointment of a select committee of inquiry. The government rejected his demand, but appointed instead a statutory commission to inquire into the charges and allegations made against certain members of parliament and others by the defendants at the recent trial—in which it has to be observed that the attorney-general, a law officer of the Crown, had acted as legal adviser for the *Times*. The general impression created in the mind of the public was that

the government identified itself with the *Times*. The special committee asked for by Parnell would have been limited in its inquiries to the specific matter of the letters; the statutory commission had before it what was in effect a general inquiry into the operations of the Land League and the National League.

The three judges began their sittings in September 1888 and ended them in November 1889. For the first six months the inquiry was the one all-absorbing topic of public interest. Now the British public was entirely accustomed to assume that agrarian crime was in Ireland the normal accompaniment of agrarian agitation. It was also taken for granted that the persons engaged in the agitation made no effort to check violence and hardly professed even to discountenance it, at least so long as it fell short of murder. It was assumed that the Land League and the National League did not refuse subscriptions from societies which made no profession of attempting to keep to windward of the law. A commission which was going to do nothing more than confirm this general impression by detailed evidence would have caused no particular excitement. But it was another thing to suggest that the leagues had been morally responsible for, and that their leaders had actually condoned, such things as dynamite outrages and organised assassinations. Public interest, in fact, centred upon personal questions. The alleged 'facsimile' Parnell letter would have sufficed, if genuine, to place the Nationalist leader entirely outside the pale. When, therefore, in a brilliantly conducted cross-examination, it was decisively proved that the alleged letter was a forgery, committed by a man named Pigott; that he had sold it to the credulous proprietors of the *Times* without difficulty, because their readiness to believe in its genuineness on *a priori* grounds had been so complete that they accepted it almost at sight, and certainly without careful investigation; the conclusion seemed to follow that the partisanship which, in one case so conspicuous, had blinded the proprietors of a newspaper so great as the *Times* to the necessity

The public and the commission.

1889. The Pigott forgery, March.

of taking common precautions to sift the evidence on which it proceeded to base the blackest of accusations, made the whole fabric of its allegations illusory; and that impression was rather intensified by the extreme weakness of the apology which the *Times* then offered. To make the thing still more sensational Pigott committed suicide, apparently in order to avoid arrest, at the end of March 1889.

When the final report of the commission was published, it passed condemnatory judgment on the Leagues, because allegations were proved against them which nobody had ever thought of doubting seriously; but the personal charges were completely exploded, and beyond this the public was rather surprised to find that there were prominent persons, notably Mr. Michael Davitt, a political ex-convict, who had explicitly denounced and discouraged outrages. Unionists took the view that what had been proved made it entirely clear that to give Ireland a parliament of her own would be to hand her over to the tender mercies of men who were utterly unfit to take part in her government; Home Rulers on the other hand were considerably relieved by finding it proved that the Parnellites had not gone nearly so far in the encouragement of violence as most of them had been half inclined to suspect, while the proofs of a recklessly blind animosity in the statement of the case against the Parnellites were emphatic and convincing.

1890. The report.

During 1889 parliamentary interest was almost confined to the very large admiralty programme of naval expansion. Outside parliament Mr. Balfour in Ireland accompanied the vigorous application of the Crimes Act by such useful measures as the development of light railways; there was an increase in the number of tenants who purchased holdings under the Ashbourne Act, and at the end of the year the diminution of crime was sufficient to warrant the withdrawal of a very considerable area from the proclaimed districts. In the labour movement an event of first-rate importance was the great strike of labourers at the London docks, the first attempt at organised action, at least on a large scale, by

1889.

unskilled labourers. The demand was made for the 'docker's tanner,' pay at the rate of sixpence an hour. For the first time, also, perhaps, a large amount of public sympathy was displayed on behalf of the strikers. For five weeks the London docks were almost closed. Practically the men won, and their victory prepared the way both for the further organisation of unskilled labour, for an increased tendency to co-operative action on the part of distinct unions, and for a stronger disposition to demand, as well as a readier disposition to concede, legislative action in the interests of labour. The dock strike, it may be remarked, was conspicuous for its freedom from violence, although the men concerned were of the least educated or disciplined class, and also for the judicious self-restraint of the authorities.

The dock strike, August.

The report of what was called the Parnell commission was issued in February 1890. For a time Parnell became in England almost popular. But before the end of the year he was ruined by being implicated in a divorce court scandal. Not very long before, the career of Sir Charles Dilke had been blighted by another scandal. Gladstone found himself compelled by the Nonconformist conscience, the opinion of the Nonconformist bodies who supplied much of the strength of the Liberal party, to make Parnell's retirement the condition of any continued association between the Liberal and the Irish Nationalist parties. In the Nationalist party the first contest arose between the supporters of Parnell, who refused to resign, and the majority of the party, who, with the support of the Irish clergy, refused any longer to recognise him as leader. Many years passed before the breach between the two sections of Nationalists was healed; and during the whole of that period, the Nationalists in parliament were as a body ineffective.

1890. Fall of Parnell.

In 1890 the government introduced a Land Purchase Bill, which met with so much opposition that it was withdrawn. It was, however, again introduced and was passed in 1891, in which year the coercive powers conveyed under the Crimes Act in Ireland were suspended over almost the whole

1891.

country. In England a surplus of £2,000,000 helped the government to introduce a project which Mr. Chamberlain, before the great split, had set in the forefront of the Liberal programme. The Liberals in 1870 made education compulsory; the Conservatives in 1891 made it free. In effect the normal contribution of parents had hitherto been threepence a head per week for each child. A government grant was now to provide as the equivalent ten shillings a year for each child. There were not wanting persons who declared that the measure was Socialistic, that it would be destructive of the sense of parental responsibility, and that it would prove to be merely the stepping-stone to a system under which the State would provide for the whole upbringing of the children of the working classes. But being introduced by a Conservative Government and supported by a Liberal Opposition the resistance to it was ineffective.

Free education.

In 1892 the parliament, which had been elected in 1886, was obviously nearing its end. In the last month of 1891 Lord Hartington was called to the House of Lords, on succeeding his father as Duke of Devonshire; the leadership of the Liberal Unionists in the Commons passed of necessity to Mr. Chamberlain. On the death of Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Balfour's elevation to the leadership of the House was universally applauded. Parnell had died in October. When parliament met in 1892 the government had no striking legislation in view. It passed a very tentative Small Holdings Bill, to enable county councils to buy, not compulsorily, a few acres of land for small holdings. Mr. Chamberlain had always advocated a system of local self-government in Ireland as the true solution of the Irish problem, and the government at last introduced a long promised bill, professedly with that object in view, but so limited in its scope and with such hampering conditions that it is doubtful whether it was ever intended that it should become law. It was in fact withdrawn.

1892. Various bills.

The general election took place in the summer. The Home Rule question inevitably held the first place; but Gladstone

had also raised another thorny question, emphasising the development of his views on the principle of Nationalism, the disestablishment of the English Church in Wales, demanded by the majority of the Welsh representatives in parliament. The Liberals were in high hopes that the refusal of the constituencies in 1886 to endorse a scheme of Home Rule had been due mainly to the novelty of the idea, to a natural reluctance to adopt so violent a constitutional change without prolonged consideration. But the answer of the constituencies in 1892 was ambiguous. As to the views of the majority in Ireland there was no more doubt than before; eighty-one Nationalists were returned. But in Great Britain the majority, though a small one, was still averse from Home Rule. Gladstonians and Irish Nationalists taken together only outnumbered the Unionists of Great Britain and Ireland taken together by forty; and once more it was obvious that no government was possible against which the Irish Nationalists might choose to vote. When parliament met in August Mr. Asquith moved a 'no confidence' amendment to the address; it was carried by a majority of forty; Lord Salisbury resigned and Gladstone formed his fourth administration, with the disconcerting knowledge that its continuity was dependent upon the goodwill of the Nationalists.

The general election, July.

Government defeat and resignation, 11th August.

III. Foreign and Imperial Affairs, 1885-1892

In India Lord Dufferin had succeeded Lord Ripon as viceroy in 1884; it was fortunate that at the time of the Penjdeh incident Abdur Rhaman was the guest of that skilled diplomatist, though it was due in the first place to the Amir's own political sagacity that no more serious results immediately attended the incident. Abdur Rhaman held firmly to his determination that he would admit neither Russian nor British authority within his dominion. But though he trusted neither of his great neighbours his mistrust of Russia was the greater, and he stood loyally by the

India, the north-west frontier, 1885-8.

British connection. The process of delimitation was carried out during Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty and was brought to a conclusion by an inclusive agreement between Russia, Afghanistan, and Britain in July 1887. The less aggressive side of the forward policy was given effect by the steady strengthening of the frontier posts and the building of the Quetta railway, Quetta being the southern gateway between Afghanistan and India.

More interesting to the ordinary public in England was the final annexation of Burma, which took place in 1887. The conduct of the Burmese monarchy had forced upon the Indian government the wars and annexations under Amherst and Dalhousie. Nevertheless it continued incapable of applying to its policy the lessons of the past. The British commercial residents within the kingdom could obtain no redress for their grievances, in spite of protests from the Indian government. France, to which the British occupation of Egypt was a standing source of irritation, was endeavouring to find compensation in the Far East and to establish an ascendent influence in Further India; and in 1885 it was more than suspected that King Thebaw of Burma was seeking a French alliance through which he might counteract and might be enabled to defy any pressure brought to bear upon him by the British. It was at last resolved that it had become necessary to demand his acceptance of a British Resident and British control over foreign relations. Thebaw flatly refused, and in 1887 a strong British expedition took possession of Mandalay. Thebaw surrendered, annexation was decided upon, and Burma was placed under British administration.

1887. Burma annexed.

Lord Dufferin made some advances in the direction of admitting natives to the higher administrative posts in India. The close of his rule witnessed the creation in India of a body calling itself the Indian National Congress, having as its avowed object the promotion of self-government and representative institutions. Being the one articulate voice which came from India, it was difficult for people in England to understand that the National Congress

Indian National Congress, 1887.

was not what it professed to be, the voice of India. It was the voice only of a fraction of that portion of the many peoples of India who were governed under direct British administration; the voice of that class of Hindus which received a tincture of Western education and some acquaintance through books with English history and English institutions; a class wholly out of sympathy, not only with the Mohammedans, but also with the more virile fighting races of India; but a class also which monopolised the native press. The National Congress became as time went on the cause of serious complications, chiefly because of the influence of its utterances upon uninstructed popular opinion in England, always extremely suspicious of official Anglo-Indian opinions and methods. It may be observed incidentally that the term Anglo-Indian is in itself regarded as offensive by the class to whom it is applied in England, at least to those of the earlier generation, because in India itself it bore a different meaning; but it seems impossible to avoid the use of it, since the term 'Indian' which they themselves prefer is misleading to the British public, who interpret it as meaning not British officials in India, but natives. In 1888 Lord Dufferin was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne.

Past attitude to the colonies.

In 1887 a new departure was emphasised in the relations between the mother country and the colonies. We have observed that both the great political parties in England long remained under the established conviction that the colonies were useful fields of emigration for an expanding population, but were politically something of an incubus; that they were to be expected in the nature of things, sooner or later, to declare their independence and sever their connection with the mother country, and that such a consummation was to be viewed rather with relief than otherwise. The more they managed their own affairs the better, provided always that their method of so doing did not entail fresh responsibilities upon the mother country, involve her in complications with other colonising powers, or shock popular susceptibilities in relation to the treatment of the aborigines. Home governments habitually threw cold water upon colonial

aspirations for expansion. This was an attitude, extremely irritating to the colonists, which over a period of years had been particularly exemplified in relation to the island of New Guinea. New Guinea on the north of Australia. The movements or anticipated movements of Dutch, Germans, and French, were viewed with extreme jealousy in Australia, and there was an anxious demand for the occupation of New Guinea, which was persistently snubbed by one after another of the colonial secretaries. In this irritation originated the first hesitating movement towards the confederation of the Australian colonies, which was kept in check, as it had been checked in the American colonies in the eighteenth century, by the dislike of each colony to any restrictions upon its own complete independence of control. The New Guinea question, however, was settled in 1886 by an agreement with Germany partitioning the British and German spheres in the Pacific Islands and placing the greater part of New Guinea within the British sphere.

New Guinea.

This was in itself a sign of the change of attitude which was gradually taking place in England, the imaginative realisation of the British empire as a unity to which it was attempted to give a not too satisfactory expression by the establishment in London of the Imperial Institute at the beginning of 1887. The incident that really marks the entry of the imperial idea into British statesmanship is the conference held in London in the jubilee year between the secretary for the colonies and ministers representing the colonies for the discussion of various problems in which all were mutually interested, prominent among them being imperial defence. The germ of the idea of imperial federation had come into being, though even the most ardent advocates of such a scheme in theory were aware that the time was not yet ripe for introducing it as a question of practical politics. But a great step had been made in the direction of unification merely by the recognition of the fact that there were matters of common interest which ought to be the subject of common discussion and common decision. The most definite fruit of the conference was the adoption of a

1887. The attitude changing.

First colonial conference.

scheme of naval defence for Australasia in 1888, in which the imperial government took a considerable share.

In the West the government narrowly escaped serious quarrels with France and with the United States over fisheries questions; and in two of the three cases which arose the British colonies concerned were considerably aggrieved by the pliancy of the imperial authority. The first was a trouble of ancient date concerning the fishing rights of French sailors in the waters of Newfoundland. Ever since the Treaty of Utrecht there had been friction concerning the French claim. The recent action of the French, though in accordance with their own interpretation of their treaty rights, roused the indignation of the Newfoundlanders to such a pitch that a serious collision seemed imminent, and there was talk of secession on the part of Newfoundland if its just claims were made light of; nevertheless the government did in fact concede practically the whole of the French demands. The second case was that of the American fishing rights in Canadian waters, conveyed primarily in the treaty of 1818. The Americans had indubitably transgressed their rights, and the Canadians retorted by seizing transgressing vessels. Left to themselves the United States threatened a commercial war with Canada, which would have damaged them more than the Canadians; but the imperial government intervened, and a treaty was negotiated in 1888, which, as in the Newfoundland affair, virtually ignored the Canadian claims and conceded everything to the United States, although there was a general conviction that the case for Canada was very much the stronger of the two. Mr. Chamberlain, who was one of the British negotiators, had not yet come to be regarded as the creator and foremost champion of the imperial idea. The Canadian parliament yielded only a very reluctant assent; but the whole arrangement was blown to pieces by that very disturbing factor, a presidential election in America. As in the case of the Oregon boundary dispute, that attitude which is commonly described as Jingoism in England and Spreadeagleism in America was regarded as the sound one

1888. Newfoundland fisheries.

Canadian fisheries, 1888

to take up from an electioneering point of view; the treaty, though extravagantly favourable to the United States, was vociferously denounced on both sides, and consequently disappeared altogether.

The third case was that of the Alaskan seal-fisheries. Formerly Alaska, the north-west corner of the continent, had been Russia's share of America. In those days she had claimed that the northern waters were an inland sea under her control, and in those days American and British seal-fishers had united in rejecting her claim. But Alaska was sold to the United States in 1866, and the formerly rejected claim at once became good law in American eyes. British ships sealing in the open seas were confiscated, and the American courts confirmed the confiscation. Lord Salisbury, however, succeeded early in 1892 in procuring an arbitration treaty for dealing with the question. On this and on later occasions he proved himself an invaluable convert to the arbitration theory of settling international difficulties; happily, he was much assisted in removing the British prejudice against that theory, which had been aroused on its first notable application by the Alabama award, by the fact that the Alaska arbitration went entirely in favour of this country. The seal-fishers were awarded compensation and the American 'inland sea' hypothesis was rejected; although the British government then quite wisely agreed to restrictions on the 'open sea' fishing, because without those restrictions there was a real risk that the seals would be exterminated.

1892. The Alaska dispute.

Lord Salisbury's methods in all these cases, when he was dealing with France or the United States, were entirely in accordance with the Liberal precedents; they would have been wrathfully denounced if any one but the chief of the Conservative party had been responsible for them. The aggressive conduct of Portugal in East Africa, which threatened to interfere with the now rapidly progressing northward expansion of the British in the interior, provided an opportunity for more uncompromising self-assertiveness with no particular risk. Portugal was told in plain

1891. A quarrel with Portugal.

terms in 1891 that she must withdraw her inconvenient claims *in toto*, which she did, having no option in the matter. Lord Salisbury's action was justified, but it would have been more impressive if Portugal had not been powerless to resist or if she had been treated with more of the forbearance displayed towards stronger states.

The sharpest criticism to which Lord Salisbury was subjected at this period was for his dealings with Germany in Africa. As a matter of fact his diplomacy did actually procure what he wanted for the British empire at the cost of 'graceful concessions' which might possibly prove injurious, but were not thought likely to do so, although indignant protests were raised both among his own followers and among members of the Liberal party, who showed that imperialist doctrines were not a Conservative monopoly.

1890. The German agreement.

In 1886 a line of demarcation had been drawn by agreement between the German sphere of influence in East Africa and the British sphere of influence on the north of it which included Uganda. The arrangement made a German protectorate of Zanzibar, which had previously been developing under the influence of the British consul, Sir John Kirk. Between German East Africa and the virtually Belgian Congo state on the west, there was unappropriated territory. Lord Salisbury's agreement, made in June 1890, transferred the protectorate of Zanzibar to Britain, the price paid for it being the cession of the island of Heligoland in the North Sea, a possession to which the German emperor attached great importance and Lord Salisbury none at all. An outcry was caused, partly by a sentimental objection to hauling down the British flag on any piece of territory where it had once flown, partly by a suspicion that the German emperor's estimate of the utility of Heligoland was nearer the mark than Lord Salisbury's, and partly because the new allotment of territory made the British occupation of a continuous belt stretching from Egypt to Cape Colony impossible of realisation. Mr. Cecil Rhodes had already succeeded in planting his Cape to Cairo idea in many British minds; hence the dissatisfaction at the interposition of a German

sphere between north and south. It was, however, pointed out that the arrangement expressly provided for the continuation of a trade route across the German territory, so that the mercantile interests were adequately secured in time of peace; while in the event of war the odds in Africa would be all in favour of the British. Mr. H. M. Stanley, the most famous of African travellers, was at first among the most indignant of protestors, but afterwards declared himself satisfied.

In South Africa the recent discovery of gold-fields in the Transvaal was by this time drawing a large number of aliens into the republic, of a different type from the gold-diggers who had once swarmed into Australia; an immigration which was soon to have a serious effect, both on politics and on finance. But of equal importance was the presence in South Africa of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, whose imperial dreams gave new impetus to the British expansion. The British advanced up on the west and round on the north of the two Dutch republics, hemming them in, making agreements with the native chiefs, including Lobengula, the chief of the Matabele; and in 1889 Mr. Rhodes obtained a charter vesting the control of those vast regions in the British South Africa Company.

Transvaal gold-fields and Rhodes.

IV. The Liberal Interlude, 1892-1895

Mr. Gladstone's last cabinet was formed in August 1892. In it were included three future Liberal prime ministers, Lord Rosebery and Mr. Campbell Bannerman, both of whom had been in the last Liberal administration, and Mr. Asquith who had recently come very much to the front. Sir William Harcourt was again chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. John Morley chief secretary for Ireland. Of the original Liberal dissentients, Sir George Trevelyan had rejoined the party, since it had become probable that in any new Home Rule Bill Ireland would not be deprived of representation at Westminster; he, too, was in the cabinet as secretary for Scotland. The electorate had for

1892. The last Gladstone cabinet.

the first time returned four Labour members, definitely dissociated from the Liberal party, the nucleus from which a separate Labour party was destined to develop.

Parliament did not meet until the opening of 1893. In the meanwhile the imperialist section of the cabinet, headed by Lord Rosebery, overcame the disposition of what was perhaps the larger portion of the party to shrink from any extension of imperial responsibilities, and it was decided to retain control of Uganda; which was not, however, proclaimed a British protectorate until after the report of a very strong commission had been received and Lord Rosebery had succeeded Gladstone in the premiership, in 1894.

Uganda.

The new home secretary, Mr. Asquith, signalised his entry into office by his treatment of a question which had created a good deal of excitement in the autumn of 1887, and intermittently since that date, the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square. A large meeting had at that time been forbidden, and, when it assembled in spite of the prohibition, had been forcibly dispersed by the police. Mr. Asquith affirmed the absolute right of the authorities to prohibit meetings in the Square, but gave permission for them to be held under specific conditions. A popular grievance was obliterated and no public alarm was caused thereafter by meetings held in the Square. The strong support given to Lord Cromer in Egypt showed the improbability that the government would display abroad any of that weakness and irresolution which were attributed to it by the Opposition.

Mr. Asquith.

When parliament met, all other questions were entirely overshadowed by that of Home Rule. The government scheme, not hitherto divulged, was found to contain provision for the retention of eighty Irish members in the imperial parliament, who were to be precluded from voting upon questions concerning Great Britain alone. Foreign relations, army and navy, customs and trade, were excluded from the operations of the Dublin parliament. The Irish constabulary, temporarily retained under the control of the supreme government, was to be gradually absorbed into a

1893. The second Home Rule Bill.

local police. The ' in and out ' plan, as the scheme was called, for limiting the subjects on which the Irish members at Westminster could vote, was subsequently abandoned as impracticable; if the bill had become law, it would have given them the power of voting on all subjects. Under the financial clauses, it was estimated that after paying the cost of administration in Ireland the Irish contribution to the imperial revenue would amount to something over £2,000,000 per annum, subject to some temporary deductions. The second reading was carried in April in the House of Commons by a majority of forty-three. The bill was fought clause by clause and line by line in committee, until it became evident that unless drastic measures were adopted the end of it would never be reached; and Gladstone applied the method of closure by compartments, introduced by the Conservatives to carry the Crimes Act. The third reading was carried on 1st September by a majority of thirty-four, but not until there had been scenes in the House of an unprecedented storminess.

The bill thrown out by the Lords.

The fate of the bill was promptly sealed by the House of Lords. During the second Gladstone administration, from 1880 to 1885, Lord Salisbury had initiated his principle of treating it as the function of the hereditary chamber to act as a counterpoise to the revolutionary tendencies of a Liberal majority in a democratic House of Commons. Now there was for the second time a Liberal majority in a democratic House of Commons, and again Lord Salisbury applied his principle. Laying it down that the Lords ought not in the last resort to oppose the declared will of the nation, he adopted the position that the majority in the House of Commons did not represent the declared will of the nation. Behind the argument it was not difficult to distinguish a theory that Irish Nationalist votes ought not to be counted, and there was a distinct hint that a serious constitutional change required a majority in its favour among the representatives of England alone. At any rate it was clear that Lord Salisbury did not intend to regard the voice of a majority consisting of Gladstonians and Irish Nationalists as

the voice of the majority of the nation, at least unless its pronouncements were confirmed by a general election. The bill was rejected by ten to one in a house of four hundred and sixty members.

Obviously the proposition that the votes of Irish Nationalists did not count was one which could not be accepted by the English bills. Liberals; nor could a government returned in one year with a majority of over forty behind it admit in the next year that the Lords had any authority for saying that it did not represent the national will. Gladstone refused to dissolve, and was indeed warranted in claiming that the Liberal electors expected from a Liberal government other Liberal measures besides a Home Rule Bill. Four measures had already been introduced. A registration bill had been choked off by reference to a select committee. A scheme for subjecting the renewal of public-house licences to local option had done much to secure the temperance vote to the Liberal party, while throwing the whole weight and influence of the Licensed Victualling trade into the other scale. The Local Option Bill perished, since it was supported only by the extreme temperance reformers. But two other bills made some progress, an Employers' Liability Bill and a Parish Councils Bill. The latter was an extension of the principles of the Conservative Local Government Bill to smaller areas, establishing parish councils as the bottom unit of local administration. Not without many modifications, the bill at last made its way through the House of Commons, though the autumn session had to be extended into the New Year for that purpose. The Employers' Liability Bill extended the class of workmen who could claim compensation, and prohibited contracting out. The objection to this was based on the existence of a number of joint contributary societies of employers and employed, which made provision for accidents, and which would certainly perish if the contributors could not contract out of the proposed bill. It reached the House of Lords in November, and the Lords promptly carried an amendment which allowed contracting out. In January

An unfruitful session.

1894. The Parish Councils Bill passed.

the Lords amended the Parish Councils Bill, and insisted on their amendments in the Employers' Liability Bill. Ultimately the latter bill was dropped, and a compromise was arrived at upon the Parish Councils Bill which was passed.

Throughout the discussion of the Home Rule Bill Gladstone had led the House with an unfailing energy and vigour which would have been remarkable in a man of half his age. The public had become so accustomed to his amazing vitality that it had come to look upon suggestions of his withdrawal from public life as merely humorous. Nevertheless by March 1884 he had definitely made up his mind that his own life work was done. He was eighty-four years of age; both his eyesight and his hearing were failing. The attitude of the House of Lords convinced him that a new and tremendous constitutional struggle was at hand and one in which he was no longer fit to take the leading part. He placed his resignation in the hands of the queen, and she accepted it with relief, not reluctance; she had never liked him, and his politics alarmed her. The two sections of the Liberal party looked the one to Lord Rosebery and the other to Sir William Harcourt for leadership; in spite of a strong sense that the leader of the Liberal party ought to be in the House of Commons, both sections would have been willing to accept as their chief Lord Spencer, on account of the sterling qualities which in him as in the Duke of Devonshire compelled respect and confidence. But the queen sent for Lord Rosebery.

Gladstone's retirement.

The new premier had not only very nearly dispelled the myth that Liberal governments paid no attention to foreign and colonial affairs; he had also achieved a wide popularity among the working classes by his tactful management of a conciliation board, which had settled a great dispute in the coal-mining industry, and he had made a very notable display of the same qualities as chairman of the London County Council. There was not much love lost between him and Sir William Harcourt, whose followers somewhat resented the appointment of his younger rival; but the selection of Sir William might have broken up the cabinet, and the selection

Gladstone's successor.

of Lord Rosebery did not. The naval programme associated with the name of Lord Spencer and the advocacy of a two-power standard as the criterion of naval efficiency provided a further proof that an interest in national defence was not the monopoly of one political party. The same truth had been illustrated, though without attracting much general attention, in 1893, by Lord Rosebery's quiet but firm handling of a crisis in the Far East, where the relations between France and Siam threatened to issue in war between France and Britain.

In South Africa also, before the end of 1893, the aggression of the Matabele king, Lobengula, directed against his peaceful neighbours the Mashonas, who were under British protection, brought about a brief Matabele war, the death of Lobengula, and the inclusion of Matabeleland (May 1894) in the territory controlled by the Chartered Company, now known as Rhodesia.

Matabeleland annexed.

The position of Lord Rosebery's ministry was weak. The cabinet was not too harmonious; his majority in the House of Commons was not superfluously large, and there was no reason to suppose that the House of Lords would allow any measures of importance to pass. A bill for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church was introduced, but was carried no further. The one important measure of the year was Sir William Harcourt's budget, which provided for a large increase of revenue by the imposition of heavy 'death duties,' a toll taken upon all property upon the death of the owner. The novelty of the scheme lay in the graduation of the tax according to the value of the estate; whereby the owners of large estates were convinced that their heirs would be reduced to a pitiable poverty. The Lords, however, admittedly could not amend and would not venture to reject a finance bill which was not unpopular, except among the wealthy; nor did any future government refrain from availing itself of the source of revenue now introduced.

The 'Death-Duties.'

The Lords had no similar reason for accepting an Evicted Tenants Bill for Ireland, for the reinstatement of tenants who,

in the view of the estates commissioners, had been unreasonably evicted. On the hypothesis that the Liberals would be usefully employed in helping the Lords to 'fill up the cup' by sending up to them measures which they might be relied upon to reject, the Evicted Tenants Bill was carried in the Commons, and duly met with its anticipated doom elsewhere.

'Filling up the cup.'

The policy of filling up the cup was continued when parliament met in 1895, though the Opposition persistently demanded an immediate dissolution. The Government reintroduced one after another of its measures—the Local Veto Bill, the Evicted Tenants Bill, and the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which was carried on the second reading by a majority of over forty, among whom Mr. Chamberlain was included. But, in fact, the days of the ministry were numbered. In June, an amendment was moved on the army estimates, mainly on the ground that there was an insufficient supply of cordite. No vote of importance had been anticipated, and on a snap division the Opposition found themselves with a majority of 7 in a House of 257. The government resigned, Lord Salisbury accepted office, parliament was at once dissolved, and the general election resulted in a complete rout of the Liberals. Conservatives and Liberal Unionists together had a majority of 152 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists together.

1895.

Fall of the Rosebery ministry, June.

Lord Lansdowne's term of office in India, which came to an end in 1894, was distinguished by sundry administrative reforms of value, by the tactful treatment of native princes, and incidentally by so rapid a decline in the value of silver, which is the standard currency in India, that the ratio of exchange between the sovereign and the rupee which had formerly stood as one to ten was fixed as one to fifteen; in other words, the rupee was valued at 1s. 4d. instead of at 2s.; a change which put an end to the embarrassing fluctuations which had long been prevalent. The British public more easily recognised the importance of the acceptance of a mission (not of a Resident) by the Amir at Kabul, which was made the occasion of mutually satisfactory agreements with regard to

India: Lord Lansdowne.

frontiers, subsidies to the Amir, and the importation of arms into his territories. This took place in 1893. More exciting had been a frontier incident in 1891. Most frontier incidents are in the north-west; this was in the north-east, in the district of Manipur, near the frontier of Assam. The apparently injudicious conduct of the British Resident led to his assassination, the sensational escape of a very small party of British, and the prompt reorganisation of the government by the British, nominally under a raja who was a minor.

Manipur, 1891.

Lord Lansdowne's successor, the second earl of Elgin, who had been sent to India as viceroy, soon found occupation with another frontier incident, this time in the furthest north-west. In the district of Chitral, above Kashmir, there was a disputed succession to the chieftainship, accompanied according to custom in hill districts by hard fighting; as it happened, there was a collision with a troop of sepoys under British officers, who were shut up in Chitral itself, where they maintained a valiant defence until the news got through to the British and relief columns were dispatched, on whose near approach the besiegers retired. The Liberal government, still in office at this time (April 1895), did not see in the incident sufficient reason for remaining at Chitral; but before effect could be given to their decision, Lord Salisbury was in office, and the occupation of the district was determined upon.

Lord Elgin: Chitral, 1895.

One act of the Rosebery administration remains to be recorded, a treaty made with Japan in 1894. It came rather as a surprise to the British public, which had not hitherto taken Japan seriously, and derived its ideas of that country chiefly from Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*. Japan, however, had been revolutionised during the last five-and-thirty years; and immediately after the treaty she revealed herself to the world in somewhat startling fashion, as a highly organised naval and military power with extremely progressive ideas, by a completely successful war with China; of which, however, she was prevented from immediately reaping the fruits by the intervention of Russia—on whom in her turn she took vengeance ten years later.

Enter Japan.

CHAPTER IX. LORD SALISBURY'S UNIONIST ADMINISTRATION, 1895-1902

I. Mainly Foreign Affairs, 1895-1902

The Unionist administration which took office in 1895 had before it ten years of uncontrolled power. In the course of the ten years there was only one general election, and that practically made no change in the situation, since after it ministers still had behind them a clear majority of 130 over their composite opponents. What they might choose to do in the House of Commons was certain of immediate ratification in the other chamber. Dissensions among the Liberals and dissensions among the Nationalists prevented the Opposition during the greater part of the period from developing any effective resistance to the government, either in parliament or in the country. It was not until after the imperial crisis in South Africa had ended, a new king was sitting on the throne, and Lord Salisbury himself had surrendered his office, that the new era and the new policy were initiated which led up to the return to office of the Liberal party at the end of 1905.

Unionists and the Opposition.

After the general election the coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists was so complete as to be a fusion in everything, except in the technical sense that the two parties preserved their separate electoral organisations in the constituencies. In the House of Commons they ceased to have separate whips. In 1886, the Liberal Unionists had lent Mr. Goschen to the Conservatives. In 1895, the duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord James, all became members of the cabinet. Lord Salisbury again united the functions of foreign minister

Fusion of the Unionist parties.

with those of the premiership; Mr. Balfour, as first lord of the treasury, led the House of Commons. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach returned to the chancellorship of the exchequer. But the appointment destined to prove the most important of all was that which unexpectedly sent Mr. Chamberlain to the Colonial Office. With the possible exception of Lord Carnarvon, no colonial secretary before Mr. Chamberlain created or added to his political reputation by his tenure of that office; Mr. Chamberlain's energies gave to it an unprecedented prominence. Of equal importance was Lord Salisbury's resumption of the foreign secretaryship, because he was probably the only man in England who could have afforded to make so many 'graceful concessions' to foreign nations as he did. Lord Beaconsfield's colleague of the Berlin Treaty could divest himself of Lord Beaconsfield's policy with a comparative immunity from the attacks of those who idolised Lord Beaconsfield's memory. Charges of pusillanimity came generally from the Liberals, while Conservatives still assiduously declared that foreign governments stood in awe of the majesty of Britain when the Conservatives were in power, but ignored her when the Liberals were in power. In actual fact, the announcement made by a rising Conservative statesman that the happy ejection of the Liberals from office ensured the country against any aggressive tendencies on the part of foreign powers was singularly falsified by the event.

In the months which passed before parliament met, Mr. Chamberlain had already begun to show that the Colonial Office was very much awake to the question of expanding the trade between the mother country and the colonies, and he incidentally gave a foretaste of the vigour of his régime by sending to the troublesome king of Ashanti an ultimatum demanding his submission to a British protectorate; which ultimatum, being ignored, was promptly followed by a military expedition which occupied Kumassi, removed King Prempeh, and annexed the country instead of merely establishing a protectorate.

1895. Ashanti.

In Siam, Lord Rosebery had checked French aggression

without bringing on a war; but there were still difficulties surviving in that region. And there were no conspicuous signs of an increased readiness on the part of France to curtail her claims. Lord Salisbury wanted a definite settlement which would remove the causes of friction; he understood, as the public at large did not, how useless the actual territory in dispute would be; and he conceded practically the whole of the French demands, while France and Britain mutually agreed to maintain intact the territory recognised as belonging to Siam. The agreement was made on 5th January 1896. **Siam.**

In the Nearer East there was trouble. Britain at the time of the Berlin Treaty had guaranteed the integrity of the Turkish possessions in Asia, but with an implied condition of the carrying out of reforms in the government of the Christian population of Armenia. The Turkish attitude on the subject of reform was persistent. The Porte reckoned that the mutual distrust of the European powers made it quite certain that no single power would be allowed by the rest to interpose with a strong hand and enforce reforms. It also enjoyed a comfortable confidence that the powers would never reach such a degree of energetic unanimity as to apply their united forces for coercion, however unanimously they might lecture or even threaten. So the reforms were not carried out, and affairs in Armenia went from bad to worse. The sultan solemnly explained that the Armenians were revolutionary anarchists who had to be kept down firmly; he was only doing what Russia was doing, and what the other European governments were doing in a small way. During the Rosebery administration, Lord Kimberley, who took his chief's place at the Foreign Office, did his best not only to bring British pressure to bear (on the theory that the Berlin Treaty had imposed a special responsibility upon Britain for Armenia), but also to galvanise the concert of Europe into energetic action; but without practical result. He was beginning to hint at isolated action on the part of Great Britain when the Liberals were ejected from office, and the conduct of foreign affairs passed into the hands of Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury had the **Armenia.**

strongest possible objection to any theory permitting isolated intervention by a single power in the Eastern question; the doctrine he held was implied in the British attitude to Russia from the days of the Crimean War to the Berlin Treaty. He reverted to the vain effort to make the concert of Europe operative. He succeeded in persuading Russia and France to join in dictating a scheme to the Porte; whereupon the Porte produced a scheme of its own. Lord Salisbury at the Lord Mayor's banquet on 9th November used language that seemed ominous, but proved to be as empty of effect as all previous utterances, and the Turks went on as before.

President Cleveland's message.

Yet another sensation was provided in December when President Cleveland's message to congress virtually announced that the United States government was about to impose its own arbitration upon Britain and Venezuela, between whom there was a long-standing boundary dispute. The president based his exceedingly aggressive message upon an interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, which assumed that the United States were entitled to impose their own views upon any European powers who had disagreements with any of the South American republics. The particular dispute related to the boundaries between the republic of Venezuela, which had been recognised as an independent state in 1836, and British Guiana, which had been transferred from Holland to Britain in 1814. When the Dutch had obtained from Spain in 1791 the territory transferred to Britain in 1814, the boundaries had not been carefully defined; so, shortly after the establishment of the Venezuela republic, Sir Robert Schomburgk had on behalf of the British laid down a boundary. This line had been treated as authoritative by the British ever since; whereas Venezuela had persistently assumed that it included Spanish territory which belonged to her, although it had never been effectively occupied. The recent discovery of gold in the debated territory, where the dispute had been more or less suspended since a vague agreement in 1850, caused an active revival of the Venezuelan claims; in consequence of which Lord Salisbury, as early as

1886, had reaffirmed the Schomburgk line. But Venezuela continued to assert her claims, and in 1895 a definite and final settlement was becoming urgent. Hence President Cleveland's message to congress, which for the moment appeared to make war between Britain and the United States inevitable.

As a cause of general excitement, however, nothing came near the sensational news which appeared in the London papers on New Year's Day, that Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Mashonaland under the Chartered Company, had crossed the Transvaal frontier at the head of an armed force to support the British and other aliens or 'Uitlanders' resident at Johannesburg, the city of the Transvaal gold-fields. The poet laureate made haste to pour forth an impassioned if wofully mediocre lay on the subject of this heroic rescue of 'distressed damsels' in the 'gold-reefed city,' and a hot wave of enthusiasm passed over the British public which was followed by a cold chill. Dr. Jameson, it was found, got as far as Krugersdorp, some way from Johannesburg, where he found himself completely hemmed in, at the mercy of President Kruger's troops, and after a brief engagement was forced to a somewhat ignominious surrender. Also Mr. Chamberlain publicly repudiated Dr. Jameson's action. It seemed that there had been something wrong with the first impressions. People began to ask what the trouble was really all about, while the knights-errant were safe in the grip of their captors. Again, a very cold douche was poured upon the theory that the European powers had perforce adopted a new attitude with the change of ministry in England, when a congratulatory telegram was published which had been dispatched by the German emperor to the president of the Transvaal.

The Jameson Raid.

Cold water.

The persistent aim of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy was to secure whatever was material to British interests, with a reasonable regard to the material interests of other powers; and to purchase what he wanted by the 'graceful concession' of whatever was in his eyes immaterial. As a general rule, his complete mastery of available information made him a much better judge of what was or was

1896. Lord Salisbury's foreign policy.

not material than most of his critics; and his authority stood so high that he could over-rule his own more aggressive followers, while his huge parliamentary majority enabled him to ignore the protests which came from the Opposition. The Siamese question was settled by the agreement of January 1896; nothing material was in fact surrendered, and a dangerous source of friction was removed, although it looked as if France had scored a diplomatic victory. But if there was a dubious element in the Siamese settlement, Lord Salisbury was entitled to unqualified praise for his management of the Venezuela affair.

The Venezuela settlement.

President Cleveland's message, like his earlier denunciation of the Canadian Fisheries Treaty, was an electioneering move. The United States did not, in fact, want a war. Lord Salisbury did not allow himself to be moved by the blatancy of the presidential appeal. He answered the message by an exceedingly temperate dispatch in which he expressed his readiness to submit the British case to the American commissioners in order to satisfy them of its justice, but declined entirely to hold himself bound by their views or to acknowledge their title to interpose upon the disputants their own compulsory arbitration. The temporary fervour of anti-British feeling in America was cooled down by the disastrous effect upon the American money market of the war scare. There were points in the Venezuelan dispute which the British government was quite willing to submit to arbitration, but arbitration could not be admitted with regard to any territory in actual occupation. Subject to that limitation, the matter might be referred to an arbitration commission; which was actually constituted in 1897, and gave its award in October 1899. The commission consisted of two British and two United States judges, with a Russian jurist as president. Its award was unanimous, and in all but quite insignificant details confirmed the British claims. The principle of referring reasonably disputable international questions to arbitration was thereby greatly advanced, although a general arbitration treaty for the settlement of disputes between Britain and the United States was rejected by the American senate.

The further proceedings in connection with the Jameson Raid, and the antecedents of that portentous blunder, will be dealt with in the South African section of this chapter. But as to foreign relations, it is to be remarked that the Kaiser's telegram to the president had an unfortunately irritating effect. The partition of Africa in the treaty of 1892 had diverted a considerable amount of German hostility from France to Britain; and the accompanying cession of Heligoland had stirred up in Britain some anti-German feeling. The attitude of mutual antipathy was intensified by the Kaiser's telegram, and still more by subsequent events; though afterwards a painfully mistaken conviction developed in well-informed circles that the Kaiser personally, in spite of his impulsiveness, had no sinister designs for the destruction of the British empire. That illusion was suddenly and utterly shattered, but not till 1914. **Germany.**

Lord Salisbury's Armenian policy was not crowned with success. The Armenian atrocities grew and multiplied; in the summer, the Porte was able to insist that the province was in fact in a state of open rebellion, that the rebels themselves were indulging in outrages which no government could tolerate, and that no interference with coercive measures could possibly be permitted. The Turkish outrages roused Gladstone in his retirement, and a strong and angry demand arose that these things must be ended at whatever cost, even if it were the single-handed intervention in arms of the British. But Lord Salisbury held to his own view, and in doing so he received the emphatic support of Lord Rosebery, whose differences on the question from many members of the Liberal party caused him formally to resign his leadership, and to assume the position of a candid independent critic, alike of his former followers and his former opponents. The plain fact was, that if the British claimed to interfere single-handed in Armenia, it might certainly be assumed that the time would again come when Russia would claim the same right; and the British would then have no case for opposition. Moreover, British intervention would have involved military operations in regions where a military collision with Russia would give all conceiv- **Armenia.**

able advantages to that power; added to which was the fact that orthodox Mussulmans in India were always rendered uneasy and restive by any appearance of a hostile attitude on the part of the British government to the Head of Islam.

In the Mediterranean, however, Lord Salisbury was able to play a somewhat more effective part. The island of Crete was more easily reached than Armenia; it was within range of the fleet. An insurrection in Crete in 1896, based on the demand that the governorship and the administration of the island should be in the hands not of Mohammedans but of Christians, appealed to the powers; so the Porte promulgated a constitution for the island which appeared to concede a reasonable amount of the Cretan demands. It was, however, rendered nugatory by the authority still vested in the Mohammedan commander-in-chief and garrison. The fleets of the powers were assembled, in case common action should prove necessary. But what the Cretans really wanted was to be annexed to Greece; and Greece took upon herself to intervene. In spite of the prohibition of the powers, she calculated that they would not take action against her, and perhaps that they might be drawn into giving her actual support. She succeeded in landing some troops in Crete, to support the insurgents. The powers found her action both impudent and embarrassing. They would have come down upon Greece with a heavy hand if they could have carried Lord Salisbury with them; but in his view the settlement of Crete was the first object, and it was actually obvious that as far as Crete was concerned the British fleet was master of the situation. So it was intimated to the Greeks that they must withdraw within a week, and to the Porte that the powers would insist on the establishment of Cretan autonomy. The Porte promptly expressed its acquiescence, but the Greeks refused to withdraw. The powers applied pressure by the blockade of Crete; but Greece was really bent, mistakenly enough, on war with Turkey. There were collisions on the Greco-Turkish frontier, and in April 1897 the two states were at war. Before the end of May it was perfectly evident that the Greeks were beaten all

Crete.

1897. The Greco-Turkish war.

along the line. In effect it was Lord Salisbury's diplomacy which arranged the terms of peace, so that they were not unduly harsh to the defeated state. A rectification of the Greek frontier and an indemnity of four millions, the resignation of her claims on Crete and the establishment of Cretan autonomy, were terms more favourable than the Greek aggression deserved.

It still remained for the powers to settle the government of Crete. On that question they at once showed themselves to be in hopeless disagreement. Russia suggested that Prince George of Greece should be made governor; but the German emperor, who was extremely annoyed with the conduct of the Greeks, was very much offended by the proposal. While the powers wrangled, the Turkish troops remained where they were. Germany, followed by Austria, retired from the concert. Then there was a collision between Turkish troops and British troops. Admiral Noel acted on his own responsibility, bombarded the Turkish forts, and demanded the instant withdrawal of the Turkish troops. Lord Salisbury could not repudiate the admiral's action; the powers realised that, if unsupported by them, he would act for himself, and that was sufficient for the Porte, which gave way. Admiral Noel took over the temporary administration; the Turkish troops were removed, and at the end of the year Prince George landed as governor of Crete (December 1898).

1898. The settlement.

Meanwhile, the reconquest of the Sudan had been accomplished. Since the death of Gordon, Lord Cromer had been reorganising Egyptian administration, and the sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, had been reconstructing the Egyptian army. But in the Sudan the Mahdi had been succeeded by the khalifa, whose power was still a menace to Egypt. Successive British governments continued to cling to the hypothesis that the British occupation of Egypt was merely temporary, and was to end as soon as the country was fit to be left to stand by itself. But it certainly could not be left to stand by itself until the control of the Sudan should be recovered.

1896. The Sudan.

In 1895, the khalifa was pressing forward, and threatening both the Italians on the east and the Egyptian frontier. Lord

Salisbury's government resolved that the time had come when he must be pushed back and the Egyptian frontier advanced from Wadi Halfa at least to Dongola. France and Russia were both of them disposed to hamper British policy in Egypt, and acted within their legal rights in refusing to allow the Egyptian government to draw upon the *casse de la dette* for funds; so the money required was advanced by England. By the end of 1896 the sirdar advanced to Dongola, securing the control of the country as he went, patrolling the Nile with gunboats, and laying a railway.[1]

By this time the government had made up its mind that Dongola was not to be the terminus; the time had come for
1897. the establishment of complete control over the Sudan. Throughout 1897, the sirdar was organising conquest with consummate skill. Early in 1898 the actual advance
1898. Reconquest of the Sudan. began. In April, the khalifa's troops, the 'dervishes,' were routed on the Atbara; the army of Egypt moved steadily and relentlessly towards Omdurman, the khalifa's headquarters; and with the army came the railway. As it went forward, every mile of ground was secured. At the end of August it was close to Omdurman. On 2nd September the khalifa flung his fanatical hordes upon the Anglo-Egyptian troops, and the sirdar's great effort was crowned with a complete and decisive victory, although there was a moment in the battle when it was saved from a very different result by the brilliant action of Colonel Hector Macdonald. The swarms of dervishes charging with desperate valour were mown down in heaps by the steady fire, not only of the British, but also of the Egyptian troops, whose excellent qualities were thoroughly proved. The Mahdi power was completely destroyed.

Yet before the complete establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian dominion over the whole region of the Upper Nile up to the
Fashoda. borders of the British protectorate of Uganda, there occurred an incident which threatened to issue in war with France. It was generally recognised, and very definitely

[1] See map p. 414.

asserted by the British government, that Egypt had not by the evacuation of the Sudan withdrawn her claim to that region. Nevertheless, the French were ambitious of carrying their dominion from the French Congo to the Nile itself; and to that intent an expedition had been secretly dispatched under Colonel Marchand in 1896. Immediately after the battle of Omdurman, the sirdar learnt that there was a party of white men at Fashoda, far up the Nile. Making his way thither, he found Colonel Marchand and his small company established, with the French flag flying. There was absolutely no doubt that but for Kitchener's advance, the gallant little expeditionary force would have been entirely wiped out by the khalifa, and would never have been heard of again; as it was, the colonel claimed that Fashoda was French territory. The sirdar contented himself with claiming the territory as Egyptian, hoisting the Egyptian flag, and referring the settlement of the dispute to the government. Lord Salisbury, in his dealings with the French government was absolutely firm on the subject. The French claim could not be admitted for a moment. The territory was always Egyptian territory. It had not been reconquered by the French, although a few Frenchmen had penetrated into it; it had been reconquered by the Egyptian overthrow of the khalifa. Public opinion behind Lord Salisbury was unanimous, and the whole country would have supported him if France had chosen the arbitrament of war, which she was wise enough not to do. The question was peacefully settled by diplomacy, the French retired, and the boundary between the French area and the Egyptian Sudan was fixed by agreement. The success of Lord Kitchener, who was immediately raised to the peerage, and Lord Salisbury's firmness, undoubtedly impressed Europe very much to the British advantage.

India: frontier troubles.

In India, the troubles on the north-west frontier became particularly active. Between the recognised borders of Afghanistan and of British India, the hill districts were occupied almost entirely by Pathan tribes who were independent, too turbulent to be coveted as subjects even by an Afghan. It was among these tribes that

the Chitral trouble had arisen. When it was found that the British, instead of withdrawing from the district, were establishing a force at Malakand[1] and constructing a military road, the tribesmen concluded that the British intended to establish their own rule. To a great extent it was from among these same tribes that the British irregular troops on the frontier were recruited. The tribesmen preferred their own primitive system to any sort of rule; also they became excited by the preaching of Mohammedan fanatics, who were themselves excited by rumours about Turkey and the Europeans. Fighting was the favourite entertainment of the hillmen, and in 1897 a British agent and his escort were attacked and narrowly escaped annihilation in the Tochi Valley, occupied by the Waziris. No sooner had a punitive expedition been sent against them than the Yusufzyes in the Swat Valley further to the north rose and attacked Malakand. A bigger punitive expedition was sent; whereupon the Mohmands between the Swat Valley and Peshawar rose. The example was promptly followed by the Afridis and Orakzyes between the Khaibar and Tirah. The result of all this was that a very large force was dispatched under General Lockhart to bring them to order; a thing which was in fact beyond the power of man to accomplish by any process short of extirmination. The hillmen cheerfully sent in their wives and children to be taken care of by the invaders, while they themselves indulged in their favourite pastime. They had nothing to lose; even if their villages were burnt it mattered very little. They scattered over the mountains in small parties, by dozens or scores, rarely even by hundreds, which never dreamed of facing the British forces in the open, but lay in ambush, fell upon detached parties, sniped the encampments, and generally evaded capture. The whole business appeared endlessly exhausting, inevitably brutal, and painfully futile. Still in course of time the tribesmen tired of the game, and made their submission.

Lockhart's expedition.

Lord Elgin's viceroyalty was also troubled in 1897 by a very

[1] See Map IV.

severe famine, and by a great outbreak of plague which all the efforts of the government could only mitigate with extreme difficulty.

Before the Egyptian and Cretan problems were settled, another problem arose in the Farthest East. It was in fact initiated by the war between China and Japan in 1895. **The Far East.** Japan, as we have already observed, was prevented from reaping the full fruits of her victory by the intervention of Russia, backed up by Germany and France. China displayed her gratitude by making railway and mining concessions to those three powers, which in effect gave Russia a dominant position in Manchuria. The powers, in fact, were on the watch to profit territorially by the anticipated break up of the Chinese empire. An opening was given when a couple of German missionaries were murdered, and Germany demanded by way of compensation what was euphemistically termed the 'lease' of substantial territory. The appearance of a couple of Russian warships at Port Arthur was followed by her obtaining the 'lease' of Port Arthur itself, and Talianwan. Thereupon Britain obtained for herself the lease of Wei-hai-wei. The success of the Russian diplomacy was extremely unpalatable to Japan; but the patience of her statesmanship was equal to the occasion, and the war for which half her people were eager was averted. Her time was to come later. British and American diplomacy modified the results of this scramble for territory by procuring a general agreement that all the European powers would maintain the open door for trade.

But in China itself all this had the effect, in the first place, of encouraging the young emperor to set about a series of reforms on Western lines; in the second place, of exciting **1900. The Boxer Rising.** Chinese officialdom into active hostility to the reforming emperor; and, in the third place, of stirring the population into hostility towards all innovators in general, and the 'foreign devils' in particular. There was a revolution which practically deposed the emperor and gave the supremacy into the hands of the very able and very unscrupulous dowager-empress, and was accompanied by attacks upon the European missionaries

which soon developed into what was known as the Boxer Rising. Early in 1900, the insurgents were threatening Peking itself, and while the empress was making polite professions to the representatives of foreign powers, and dispatching imperial troops to quell the rising, the troops themselves were fraternising with the rebels instead of suppressing them. By the beginning of June there was practically no longer any pretence that the Chinese government was acting against the Boxers, and in the course of the month the representatives of the European powers were shut up in the legations at Peking, and cut off from communication with the outside world. A gallant attempt on the part of Admiral Seymour to march from Tientsin to their relief had been foiled, and the admiral had been obliged to fall back.

It had been for some time evident that united action on the part of the powers on a considerable scale would be a necessity.

Relief of the legations.

On 4th August a composite army of some 20,000 men—half of them Japanese and the rest mainly Russians, British troops from India, and Americans, all under the command of the German field marshal, Count von Waldersee, started from the coast for Peking. Happily it was found that there was no truth in the rumours which declared that the legations had fallen and the Europeans had been massacred. They were still holding out when the relieving army arrived, after some sharp fighting, and occupied Peking. The powers had already agreed that their operations were not to be followed by any cessions of territory; it was not without difficulty that they now agreed upon terms to be offered to China. The integrity of the empire was to be preserved, a heavy war indemnity paid, and the persons principally responsible for the recent troubles were to be punished. Also the Chinese government was to make full and formal apology to Germany and Japan, whose representatives had been murdered. Nevertheless, Russia took advantage of the situation to complete the occupation of Manchuria.

Before the Chinese affair had actually come to a head, the British empire was plunged into the great South African

struggle which, apart from the real questions involved, produced such a consensus of European opinion hostile to Britain that she was perhaps more completely isolated than at any other time for over a century. This hostile opinion was derived from a curious credulity which accepted as undoubted fact the most flagrant misrepresentations as to the conduct of the British, and in a quite contrary sense as to the conduct of the Boers. However inadequate the grounds, the feeling itself was genuine; it germinated in productive soil, because all the great powers except Italy were predisposed to an unfavourable view. But in spite of the anticipations of President Kruger, the hostile feeling did not issue in any official suggestions of intervention. Russia did not use the opportunity for any threatening movements in the direction of India; it was perhaps fortunate that Manchuria was at the time absorbing her expansive proclivities. The nations were content to express their sympathies, but to go no further—perhaps because the war occurred at a fortunate moment, when all Europe was alive to the strength of the British Navy. The particular form of patriotism which persistently proclaims that the country's defences exist only on paper, and that it lies a ready prey to any hostile onslaught, had not yet come into vogue. No other direct complications with foreign powers arose during the premiership of Lord Salisbury, which terminated in the summer of 1902. With regard to India, however, it may be noted here that before that date Lord Curzon, who succeeded Lord Elgin as viceroy, constituted the north-west frontier a separate province, with an administration of its own.

Europe and the South African War.

II. South Africa, 1895-1902

The Jameson Raid fiasco gave the president of the Transvaal opportunities of which at the time he made the fullest possible use. He did not, as he was entitled to do, punish the raiders; he handed them over to the British government to be dealt with. The Uitlanders who had been their accomplices were not subjected to the full

Jameson's present to Kruger.

penalty of the law of treason; the sentences upon them were commuted to mild terms of imprisonment. All he asked was a full and frank inquiry into the raid, a performance which *prima facie* had been an ample justification of everything he had done which was made a cause of reproach. The arming of the burghers, the refusal of citizenship to the Uitlanders, had received the most complete warrant that the Transvaal government could possibly desire. The British government was not equally happy in its management of the situation. The raiders were punished, but the sentences on them could hardly with any pretence of decency have been made more lenient. There was a commission of inquiry on which leaders of both political parties sat, but it was impossible even for the British public to doubt that evidence was suppressed, or to avoid suspecting that important accomplices were being shielded. In the eyes of the Dutch in Africa, and of Europe at large, the British doubts and suspicions were practical certainties. Broadly speaking, the explanation of the whole affair appears to have been as follows.

Cause of the raid.

There were two dominant personalities concerned, Mr. Cecil Rhodes and President Kruger. Mr. Rhodes dreamed of a great United South Africa under the British flag; Mr. Kruger dreamed of a United South Africa, not under the flag of the British empire or of Holland, but of the South African Dutch. The two dreams were incompatible. Kruger objected to admitting the Uitlanders to citizenship, for the simple reason that if they were freely admitted they would presently swamp the Boer population. If Uitlanders chose to come into the country upon the Boers' own terms, they might do so; if they did not like the terms, they might stay away. The Uitlanders did not like the terms at all; but they did not stay away; they came and clamoured to have the terms modified. From a European point of view the conditions were intolerably harsh. The Uitlanders were warranted in claiming that even the most conspicuously reasonable modifications would never be conceded unless they were admitted to political rights. The Rhodes scheme, then, was that the Uitlanders,

goaded beyond endurance by intolerable grievances, should rise in arms to assert their rights, Dr. Jameson with generous daring was to hasten to their aid, the revolution would be accomplished without the knowledge of the British government, and success would be followed by condonation of Dr. Jameson's share. But Kruger had too tight a grip on the Uitlanders. They were not prepared to rise when the time came. Dr. Jameson rushed in, but not to support and confirm a successful revolution; the Uitlanders sat still, and the raid ended in ignominious collapse. But for the suspicions aroused by the apparent suppression of evidence at the trial, there was nothing in the facts which warranted any charge of complicity on the part of the Colonial Office, and still less of the high commissioner, Lord Rosmead (Sir Hercules Robinson). But the retirement of Mr. Rhodes from his position as premier of the Cape and head of the Chartered Company was a necessity.

Conclusion.

It had been made to appear, then, that there had been a great conspiracy, having as its real object the destruction of the independent Boer republic in the Transvaal, a conspiracy in which the British government was under suspicion of being implicated. If, then, Mr. Kruger had proceeded to make some graceful concessions to the Uitlanders, not conceding political rights but removing palpable grievances, he would have been in an impregnable position; it would have been impossible for British authorities to attempt any interference with the internal administration of the Transvaal. But his further proceedings gave colour to the conviction that he was aiming not only at complete freedom of internal administration, to which he was in fact entitled by the convention, but at the complete independence of a sovereign state which the convention precluded in spite of its omission to claim suzerainty for Britain in express terms. By the convention the Transvaal was precluded from making treaties; the president nevertheless made treaties with Portugal, Holland, and the Orange Free State. Instead of making concessions to the Uitlanders he made their position more intolerable than before.

President Kruger.

The conviction gained ground that he was aiming not only at complete independence of the Transvaal, but at a union of the Dutch elements in South Africa, under the hegemony of the Transvaal, with the object of establishing a Dutch supremacy and the disappearance of the British flag from South Africa; and this suspicion or conviction was strengthened by his relations with President Steyn of the Orange Free State. And still to every kind of British or Uitlander protest he had the same answer; the warrant for his proceedings was the Jameson Raid.

In 1897, then, Mr. Chamberlain took a step which met with universal applause from all political parties. He sent out Sir Alfred Milner as high commissioner and governor of the Cape, in succession to Lord Rosmead. Sir Alfred had gained the highest reputation in Egypt as an administrator—clearheaded, impartial, and liberal-minded. It was confidently believed that he was going out as free from prepossessions as any man could be, with the determination to make up his own mind on the spot from personal investigation with regard to problems on which opinions in England could only be formed at second hand. That this was precisely what he did was the view of every one with whose previous judgments his judgment coincided. Those who continued to differ from his considered conclusions merely revised their previous impressions of his competence and impartiality. His verdicts when he did formulate them were entirely adverse to Kruger.

1897. Sir Alfred Milner.

Matters were brought to a head by the unqualified acquittal of a policeman who had shot an Englishman named Edgar at Johannesburg. On 18th March 1899 a great petition from British subjects in the Transvaal was presented to Sir Alfred and was forwarded by him to the home government with a dispatch expressing his views of the situation. He was satisfied that the Uitlander agitation and the Uitlander grievances were real and genuine. The treatment of British subjects in the Transvaal could no longer be tolerated, if the British power in South

1899. Sir Alfred's dispatch, March.

Africa was to be respected. The Boer government was arbitrary, oppressive, and corrupt. To insist on enfranchisement was the only remedy. The rights must be claimed for British subjects in the Transvaal which had never been denied to them in the Orange Free State, or to the Transvaal Boers in the British colonies. President Kruger would give way if he were convinced that the British government would not give way. If he did not, if he attempted armed resistance, to suppress it would not be a difficult task. In view of the fact that the idea of establishing a Dutch supremacy was certainly being deliberately fostered and was gaining ground, not only in the two republics, but among the Dutch in Cape Colony, the time had come to act decisively.

The government as a matter of course adopted Sir Alfred's views, and unhappily ignored the warnings of Sir William Butler, the principal military authority at the Cape, that war was not only probable, but would assuredly be exceedingly serious, demanding preparations on a very large scale. No preparations were made. Armed with the approval of the government, Sir Alfred held in June a conference with President Kruger at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State. His demand from the British point of view was not an extravagant one; it was, that five years' residence should entitle Uitlanders to the franchise. The president replied by requiring an unqualified guarantee that the British government would not again intervene in the internal administration of the Transvaal; when that guarantee should be given, he would submit to the Volksraad, the assembly of the burghers, a proposal that Uitlanders should be admitted to the franchise after seven years' residence—without any guarantee that the Volksraad would adopt the suggestion. This counter-proposal was evidently impossible of acceptance, save on the assumption that the internal administration of the Transvaal could never be a subject for British intervention, however unjustly British citizens might be treated there.

Bloemfontein conference, June.

The plain fact was that matters had reached a point at which fighting could only be averted either by extremely skilful

diplomacy, or by a complete surrender on one side or the other. Technically, so far as the convention was concerned, the British had no recognised right of intervention in internal administration; but the conditions which had arisen since the discovery of the Transvaal gold-fields had not come into contemplation when that instrument was drawn up. To a section of the British public, as to the Boers themselves, it appeared that there was no warrant for going behind the technical limitations of the convention. To the very much larger section, which included practically the whole of the Unionist party, it appeared clear that the Boers, under cover of technicalities, were aiming at the subversion of the British supremacy in South Africa; and this view was also accepted by a substantial portion of the Liberal party. How far Mr. Rhodes, the Uitlanders, and Dr. Jameson were responsible for the development of the Transvaal programme was another question. But probably at least three-fourths of the population of Great Britain were in the summer of 1889 unanimous in the view that British supremacy must be maintained, and that it could not be maintained unless reasonable concessions were made to the Uitlanders adequately guaranteed. It was the popular belief that President Kruger was bluffing and did not really mean war.

The British views.

On the other hand it is tolerably certain that the president took an optimistic view of a war which he was not afraid to challenge. He believed correctly that European opinion was on his side, and incorrectly that it would materialise in the form of European intervention, not having realised the functions of the British fleet in such an emergency. He knew that he could count upon the Orange Free State, and believed that he could count upon the Cape Dutch. He, in common with the bulk of the Boer population, had a very low opinion of British military efficiency. He saw that the British armies actually in South Africa were certainly not capable of effecting a conquest, and he knew that he had acquired an artillery, the strength of which was unsuspected by the British; whereas in England there was practically no one either among the authorities or among the general public

Kruger's point of view.

with any understanding of the difficulties of a campaign of conquest in South Africa. It was a similar miscalculation, that at the beginning of the century had involved Napoleon in the Peninsular War.

After the Bloemfontein conference negotiations still dragged on; but the hope that peace would be maintained was small enough to induce the government to begin in September the dispatch of reinforcements for the Cape. The movements of troops were immediately denounced as provocative; President Steyn protested and declared that if the British forced a war upon the Transvaal the Free State would join the Transvaal. On 9th October Mr. Kruger presented an ultimatum demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the frontier. On the 12th the Boer forces invaded Natal territory.

The ultimatum, October.

The disposition of British troops was based upon political, not strategical, considerations. Two-thirds of them were collected in the northern angle of Natal at Dundee, Glencoe, and Ladysmith, positions very ill adapted for prolonged defence. On the other side of the Orange Free State there was a strong garrison at Kimberley; a smaller force of irregulars under Colonel Baden Powell was at Mafeking, further north on the Transvaal border. The frontier of the Boer states presented, roughly, a great semicircle. There were other British troops under Generals French and Gatacre at other points of the circumference. Communication between these various posts was almost impossible. The Boers holding the interior lines could strike where they liked and when they liked, dispatching masses of troops from one point in the circumference to another; and while invasion of British territory was easy for them, invasion of their territory was extremely difficult. It was fortunate, therefore, that instead of breaking into Cape Colony and calling on the Cape Dutch to join them they devoted their energies to shutting up the British troops in Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley, and there endeavouring to reduce them. Their zeal for the capture of Kimberley was the greater because Mr. Rhodes was in the beleaguered garrison.

War. The dispositions, 12th October.

In November, when General Buller arrived at the Cape with reinforcements, the main army was locked up in Ladysmith, its guns outranged by those of the besiegers. The general decided to undertake the relief of Ladysmith himself and to entrust the relief of Kimberley to Lord Methuen. On both sides the Boers sent forces to occupy entrenched positions, blocking the advance of the relieving forces. In the second week of December came a series of disasters. Methuen, having forced the passage of the Modder River after a sharp fight, attempted to effect a night surprise of General Cronje's position at Magersfontein. The Highland Brigade advancing in the close order necessitated by a night movement came unexpectedly upon the wire entanglement which warned the Boers of their approach. In the storm of fire which at once broke upon them six hundred men fell in three minutes. They broke, and rallied the moment they reached cover; but to renew the attack was hopeless. The surprise having failed, there was nothing to be done but to retreat. This was on the night of 10th December. On the 9th General Gatacre on the south attempted by a forced march to fall upon a Boer column which was threatening an invasion of the Cape; but at Stormberg his column was split in two parts and half his men had to surrender. Six days later Buller attempted to force the passage of the Tugela at Colenso and was repulsed with heavy loss.

The black week, December.

Until this black week an easy confidence had prevailed in England that Buller and Methuen would sweep the Boers before them; the shock was tremendous when it was discovered that each attempt to dislodge the enemy from his position had been repulsed with heavy loss, and apparently with only very insignificant damage to the Boers. Here and there counsels of despair were heard; but generally the spirit of the country rose to the occasion, not with the early lightheartedness, but with a grim determination to see the thing through. There was a ready response to the call to arms, not only at home, but from Canada and Australasia. The government, at last awakened to the magnitude of its task, sent out Lord

Lord Roberts.

Roberts, the hero of the Afghan War, to take the supreme command, with Lord Kitchener, the organiser of victory, as his Chief of Staff. Before the new movements planned by Lord Roberts began in February Ladysmith had beaten off a desperate attack, but another disaster had befallen General Buller's force at Spion Kop. The Boer position there was all but carried; the crest of the hill was actually occupied, but seemed so impossible to hold that the gallant officer on whom the command devolved when General Woodgate was carried off the field with a mortal wound felt it his duty to retreat.

1901. Spion Kop, February.

Still, Sir George White held out stubbornly at Ladysmith, Kimberley defied its besiegers, and the garrison at Mafeking held its own with a cheery resourcefulness. In the second week of February, however, Lord Roberts was ready for his great movement. Buller was left to his own resources. Roberts with his main force moved upon Kimberley. French with a strong cavalry column raced there by a different route. His approach raised the siege. General Cronje slipped through between French and Roberts, but was brought to bay at Paardeberg, where he entrenched himself, and was there compelled to surrender, nine days later, on 27th February. The tide had turned completely in the west.

Kimberley and Paardeberg.

During the ten days following the relief of Kimberley it had turned also in the east. General Buller developed a new turning movement, which forced back the opposing Boers to Pieters Hill, where the British advance was again checked on 22nd February. But the Boer position was again turned on the 27th, the day of Cronje's surrender. Four days later Buller's force was in Ladysmith.

Ladysmith relieved.

On 6th March began the campaign of invasion; on the 13th Lord Roberts, having fought two actions on the way, was in Bloemfontein. Six weeks of compulsory inaction followed, owing to a great epidemic of enteric. On 1st May Lord Roberts began his march from Bloemfontein to Pretoria. On 17th May a flying column under Colonel Plumer raised the siege of Mafeking, an event which filled London at least

Mafeking.

with a delirium of excitement and exultation, not so much from any impression that the relief was a notable feat of arms, as because the defence had appealed to the popular sporting instincts unqualified by the grimness of Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Paardeberg. It hardly seemed to be associated with the tragedy of war.

On 5th June Lord Roberts entered Pretoria. Until the middle of February it would appear that the confidence of the two presidents in their ultimate victory was not to be shaken. It was slightly weakened by the revolution of the next fortnight, the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith, and the surrender of Cronje at Paardeberg. The presidents were so far moved that they expressed their readiness to make peace, but only on condition that the two republics should be recognised as completely independent sovereign states That offer, put forward on 5th March, had as a matter of course been rejected. While Roberts was advancing on Pretoria, Buller in the east had forced his way into the Transvaal and established himself at Standerton. But although in the course of the advance the Boer forces had been defeated in every engagement with the main armies, and the two capitals were in the occupation of the British before the end of the first week in June, the Boers did not by any means consider themselves beaten. They still held the northern railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay and commanded that between Pretoria and Natal. The latter they lost when at the end of July a Boer column of four thousand men under commandant Prinsloo was compelled to surrender at Bethlehem. At the end of August the British general was ready for the finishing stroke; the Boer armies commanded by General Botha were driven off the railway, and on 24th September the British occupied Komatipoort on the Transvaal and Portuguese frontier, the old president having a few days before retreated to the coast in order to sail for Europe and devote himself to further efforts for procuring European intervention and support. By this time both the Free State and the Transvaal had again been proclaimed colonies under the British

Pretoria, June.

The republics annexed, September

Crown. It was announced that the war was practically over, and Lord Roberts returned to England, to take up the office of commander-in-chief, while Lord Kitchener remained to finish off what still remained to be done.

The finishing off proved to be the most troublesome part of the whole war. There was, indeed, nothing in it to compare with the disasters of the mid-winter. But the Boers, stubbornly refusing to confess themselves beaten, maintained a harassing and persistent guerilla warfare, in which the most conspicuous part was taken by the brilliant leader, Christian De Wet. The mounted bands flashed from point to point, swooping upon isolated detachments or stations, while the population gave them every possible assistance, and the male portion of it appeared at one moment on their own farms as non-combatants, at the next taking to their rifles if it suited their convenience. Practically it became impossible to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. Steadily and relentlessly Lord Kitchener organised the system of block-houses which gradually encircled the Boers, drawing ever closer and closer. British officers and troops continued the apparently fruitless operation of hunting the elusive De Wet. When it was found that the whole of the population, professedly non-combatant, acted as combatants whenever it suited them, and that the farmhouses were being used for military purposes, the ordinary rules of warfare which would have forbidden their destruction was suspended, and concentration camps were established, in which the families of the Boers were maintained at the expense of the British. The numbers of those who were thus supported rose at one time to a hundred thousand. The system was hotly denounced as an employment of the 'methods of barbarism' by a small but extremely earnest section of the British public; the majority, however, took the view that it was the most humane way possible of dealing with conditions created by a population which claimed to be treated as non-combatant while acting as combatant.

Kitchener and De Wet.

Concentration camps.

Throughout 1901 the struggle went on. The Boers continued to refuse all terms which did not concede the complete independence

of a sovereign state. By slow degrees the resistance was worn down; a series of 'drives' cleared one area after another. At last the Boers realised the hopelessness of further resistance; if they won an occasional success here and there, the number of Boer prisoners was accumulating month by month and week by week; there would soon be no Boers left to fight.

1901. Wearing down.

In March 1902 hostilities were suspended. On 15th May, at Vereeniging, the Boers leaders accepted the terms offered by Lord Kitchener. The Boers were to lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance as subjects of the British Crown. All the prisoners who took the oath were to be liberated; there was to be a general amnesty. Those of the Cape Dutch who had taken part in rebellion were to be disfranchised. On the other hand the two colonies were to be allowed self-government as soon as possible; the Dutch language was to be permitted in the law courts and schools. Instead of an indemnity being exacted, an imperial grant of £3,000,000 was to be applied to the reinstatement of the farms. The war which at the outset was expected to cost £11,000,000 had actually involved an expenditure of £200,000,000 and the loss of some twenty-five thousand British lives, though only one-fifth of the victims had fallen on the field. The treaty of peace was signed at Pretoria on 31st May 1902.

1902. Peace.

III. Mainly Domestic, 1895-1902

The general election had not been fought on any specific issue, except so far as it was intended to endorse the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Home Rule Bill. The force of Mr. Gladstone's personality had held the Liberals together and had caused them to concentrate on one great idea; his personality being withdrawn the concentration had disappeared. Home Rule itself was not a subject on which it was possible to excite enthusiasm in England; such enthusiasm as there had been was rather for the leader than for the cause. The Unionists, on the other hand, made a direct appeal for the ejection from office of

1895. The domestic position.

a party pledged to Home Rule. But a merely negative party programme had not satisfied them; and many half-promises had been made to which it was by no means easy to give immediate effect. They had to prove themselves the true friends of the working-man, of the agricultural interest, and of the Church, and the exponents of educational reform. Also they had to prove that the Irish demand for Home Rule was without justification. Also they found themselves anxious to counteract the powers, created by themselves a few years before, of the London County Council; which was displaying somewhat alarming progressive tendencies, in curious contrast to the views of London's parliamentary representatives.

For the session of 1896 two bills occupied the field; one for the relief of agriculture, the other for educational reform. It was much to the advantage of the government that it enjoyed a large and increasing revenue, so that it was comparatively easy to allocate substantial sums for such reforms as it proposed. Agriculture, then, was to be relieved by the Agricultural Rating Bill. In effect this was a grant of £1,000,000 from the exchequer in aid of agricultural rates. In theory this was to be for the benefit of the agricultural labourer; in practice it appeared to have the effect prophesied by the Opposition of putting substantial sums into the pockets of substantial ratepayers in agricultural districts, without appreciably benefiting the agricultural labourer. The measure, on the whole, was either approved as an act of justice towards a class on whom the state was in the habit of making excessive demands or was condemned as a 'dole' to a class which was bearing far less than its due share of the financial burdens of the state—according to the personal bias of the critic. The bill was duly passed, to be in operation for a period of five years.

1896. Agricultural Rating Act.

In their Education Bill, introduced by Sir John Gorst, who had been a colleague of Lord Randolph Churchill in the days of the 'Fourth Party,' the government endeavoured to include such a vast amount of contentious matter that it ultimately found itself obliged to withdraw

Gorst's Education Bill.

the bill. The primary intention was to give assistance to the denominational schools, which were not maintained by the state, but were dependent for the most part on voluntary contributions. These schools necessarily found a difficulty, for financial reasons, in maintaining a standard of efficiency equal to that of the board schools, which were maintained by public funds. This question by itself provided an ample field for controversy. On the one side there was the cry of the clergy that only in schools controlled by the clergy could proper religious education be obtained for the Church of England families. If these schools did not receive aid, they would necessarily perish, and there would be no religious education except of that undenominational type recognised in the board schools; which, in the eyes of a large section of churchmen, was in effect antagonistic to Anglican doctrine. On the other side there was the cry, not restricted to actual Nonconformists, that no portion of the public funds ought to be appropriated to the dissemination of sectarian doctrine; and that, in any case, the appropriation of public money ought to carry with it public control. Any proposal for giving substantial pecuniary assistance to voluntary schools was bound to arouse angry controversy; apart from the unlimited field of discussion opened up for all those who were anxious to discover some means of solving the problem which could be conscientiously accepted by both Anglicans and Nonconformists.

But Sir John Gorst's bill was very much wider than this in its scope. It set forth a scheme of general educational reform, or rather of a reform of the educational authority. The County Councils were to create the educational authority for each county; a plan sufficiently comprehensive to demand consideration and discussion by itself, apart from the matters of theological controversy already referred to. In fact it fell to the lot of the Unionist government to carry at different times separate Acts embodying the main principles of the bill of 1886; but the bill itself was hopelessly overweighted; members even of the Unionist party were not sufficiently prepared for the proposals to be by any means

The bill withdrawn.

unanimous in approving of them, and hence the bill had to be withdrawn.

In 1897, however, a much less complicated bill was introduced, allotting to the voluntary schools an aggregate grant of five shillings for each child, but still leaving all such schools largely dependent upon voluntary subscriptions. At the same time all the schools ceased to be liable for rates. The issue was narrowed down to the controversy as to the appropriation of public money for denominational education. The bill was hotly criticised both on behalf of the Nonconformists and by those Anglicans who complained that the assistance provided was wholly inadequate. The Act, however, was passed. The reformation of the educational system was deferred for a more thorough investigation to be completed. A further step was taken in 1899 when a Board of Education was established with a view to bringing primary and secondary education under a single supreme authority; and at the same time the lowest age for leaving school was then raised from eleven to twelve.

1897. A simpler Education Act.

1899. Another Education Act.

Apart from minor measures of a very limited scope the only important piece of social legislation was the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. It provided that in the case of accidental injuries or of death, in the service of an employer, the workman or his representatives could claim compensation from the employer. From the point of view of the Opposition the bill had two grave defects. One was the exclusion from the benefits of the Act of large classes of workmen, such as agricultural labourers, seamen, and others. Three years later the operation of the Act was extended so as to include agricultural labourers. The second defect complained of was that the workmen had the power of contracting out, that is, he could make an agreement with his employer, precluding him from claiming compensation under the Act. It was argued on behalf of the government that interference with freedom of contract was entirely unsound in principle; and further, that the existing arrange-

1897. Workmen's Compensation Act.

ments established by many of the larger companies and by friendly societies were more materially and morally beneficial to the workmen than the advantages which the Act could secure for them, and that such arrangements would come to an end unless contracting out were permitted. On the other side it was argued that there was no true freedom of contract between masters and workmen, and the employers would be practically able to compel the men to contract themselves out, especially in the cases where it was most of all desirable that the benefits of the Act should be secured to them absolutely.

With Ireland the Home Rule problem no longer blocked the way. For the time being, at least, that question was settled. But in spite of the disappointment of the Nationalists they did not revert to the old Parnellite method of endeavouring systematically to paralyse the imperial government as the only alternative to the concession of their demands. There were several reasons which combined to account for the comparative peace which ministers were allowed to enjoy. In the first place, the ministerial majority was so overwhelming that even the united Opposition was comparatively powerless. There was no challenging the fact that the country had very definitely chosen in favour of the Unionist policy. An Opposition which hopes some day to return to power will always hesitate to employ weapons which may be turned against it when that happy consummation is arrived at; it can only afford to be vehemently obstructive when it can persuade itself that the country is tired of its rulers and has ceased to approve their policy. In the second place, the Nationalists themselves were now divided and no longer acted as a solid phalanx. Thirdly, the various remedial measures for the relief of the peasantry which had been adopted by one government or another during the last fifteen years had done much to modify the intensity of the rural depression, and with it the rancour of class hostility.

1895. Parties and Ireland.

Nevertheless it was still necessary for a Unionist government to demonstrate its sympathy with the legitimate griefs and grievances of the Irish. Moreover, the Unionist party included in

its ranks a large proportion of men who still regarded themselves as the true repositories of Liberal tradition and Liberal principles; of the belief held by the party at large, before Mr. Gladstone's new departure in 1886, that the law and the government of Ireland could be adequately amended without the creation of a separate Irish legislature. Many of these men had taken an active share in carrying the Land Act of 1881; it was a Conservative government which had passed the Ashbourne Act; and when Mr. Arthur Balfour was Irish secretary the enforcement of the Crimes Act had been accompanied by material extensions of the previous land legislation. In short, the differences between the two great parties regarding the land problem were chiefly over questions of degree, of detail, and of machinery, rather than of principle; which might perhaps be summed up by saying that the one party insisted primarily on demanding justice for the tenants while the other insisted primarily on resisting injustice to the landlords.

The Unionists.

It was natural, then, especially in view of the events of the last parliament, that the Unionist administration should have opened its career with a Land Bill, which was in the charge of Mr. Gerald Balfour, who now occupied the position of Irish secretary once held by his brother. Its intention was further to facilitate the process of land purchase. At the outset the bill was so nearly akin to Mr. Morley's that it seemed likely to meet with little opposition from the Nationalists; but it was received with a storm of indignation by the Irish Unionists. To pacify them and that large section of the House of Peers, which might be counted upon to support the landlord interest, a number of amendments were introduced which made the Nationalists forget their dissensions in a common determination to unite in opposition to the bill; which seemed likely to prove in these circumstances a measure not of conciliation but of discord. The most obnoxious amendments were withdrawn again; whereupon the landlords proclaimed themselves betrayed. When the bill went to the Lords it was again amended, and again

1896. An Irish Land Bill.

the amendments were rejected when the bill returned to the Commons. The Lords, having made their protest, were not intractable, and the government bill was duly passed.

Irish industries.

In 1897 no government measure was introduced; but largely owing to the energy of Mr. Horace Plunkett a society was started in Ireland for the organisation of agricultural industries which met with immediate and remarkable success. This subsequently led to the establishment in 1899 of a government department, mainly with a view to the same objects, with Mr. Plunkett at the head of it; and this again was responsible for continued progress and prosperity, and a corresponding decrease of the material sources of discontent which always promote political unrest.

1898. Irish Local Government Act.

In 1898 local government was at last effectively extended to Ireland. Elective County Councils and District Councils were established on the parliamentary franchise, extended by the admission of women. The new councils took over the bulk of the work, for which hitherto the grand juries and the baronies had been responsible; and a large sum was allocated from the exchequer in relief of rates. It followed that local administration now passed into the hands of the class which had hitherto been completely excluded, and which still had to prove that its members were capable of learning to do the work and were fit for the responsibility bestowed on them. On the whole the gloomy forebodings were agreeably disappointed, although the proceedings of the new councils occasionally gave some colour to the prognostications of the pessimists.

Death of Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone had withdrawn from public life in 1894, being then in his eighty-fifth year. For five-and-twenty years he had no individual rival of equal pre-eminence in the political field except Lord Beaconsfield. No other statesman had inspired such a fervour of personal enthusiasm among his followers; none, in the eyes of opponents, had seemed quite so dangerous a leader. Gifted with unrivalled eloquence, with extreme intellectual subtlety, with an intense energy of conviction, and with a passion of moral enthusiasm,

his power of swaying masses of men was almost unique. But it seemed also that he had an almost unique capacity for persuading himself of the righteousness of what he believed to be expedient, and of the expediency of what he believed to be righteous. In the four years of life that remained to him after retirement there was time for men to forget something of the fierce hostilities of party warfare, to realise the grandeur of the figure which had disappeared from the political field, to appreciate his fundamental sincerity; even for those who had been his enemies to begin contrasting him with his political heirs, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. His statesmanship had been characterised by a devotion to peace, which had not preserved his administrations from war, and had produced an impression that he was not sufficiently alive to the necessity for national self-assertion in a world which is apt to take peacefulness for cowardice and moral scrupulosity for weakness and irresolution. But when they were no longer fighting against him, and no longer feared him as a national danger, his antagonists became readier to recognise the purity of motive which had been obscured amid the dusts of conflict. When Mr. Gladstone died in 1898 friends and foes united in paying homage to the memory of a great man.

1899. London government.

In 1899 the government introduced a new bill for the government of London. The County Council created by the Local Government Act had absorbed the powers of practically all the administrative bodies previously concerned with London, except the ancient corporation of the city. The survival of this divided authority caused complications for which one proposed remedy was the absorption of the corporation also by the County Council. On the other hand, the energy with which the council exercised its already vast powers was a source of no little alarm in many quarters; and to increase those powers still further, especially at the expense of such a time-honoured institution as the City Corporation, appeared extremely dangerous. The alternative to complete unification was decentralisation. London was accordingly

broken up into a number of separate boroughs, to which certain of the powers of the County Council were transferred. There was a strong disposition to allow women to sit on the Borough Councils; but such proposals were negatived by the House of Lords, and ministers were supported by their followers in deferring to the views of the hereditary chamber.

The Navy and the War Office.

The last Conservative administration had refused at a very early stage to accept Lord Randolph Churchill's demands for a reduction of naval and military expenditure. At a later stage it had gone further and laid down a shipbuilding programme of unprecedented magnitude. This action had been thoroughly endorsed by the popular feeling; and the late Liberal administration had proceeded with no less energy on similar lines. As in the department for foreign affairs, there was herein no effective difference between the two great parties of the state, though it was a matter of course that the Liberals charged the Unionists with administrative wastefulness and the Unionists charged the Liberals with unpatriotic economy. Between the two parties, in short, the question was not one of the ends in view, but of combining efficiency and economy in attaining them. When Lord Salisbury's government, with its cheerfully expanding revenue, proposed a further extension of the naval programme, the scheme of the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. Goschen, was accepted with encouraging unanimity. At the same time the country, suspicious of the efficiency of its military organisation, accepted a reconstruction of the War Office; for which the recent retirement of the duke of Cambridge, who had been commander-in-chief for many years, afforded a convenient opportunity. A general impression however prevailed that while a decisive naval preponderance must be maintained, the expenditure on the army was adequate for the needs of the empire. The effective value of the fleet and the inefficiency of the military organisation were both to be demonstrated by the outbreak of the South African War, the disasters which attended its earlier stages, and the immunity from foreign intervention which the fleet was able to ensure.

More than the actual jubilee of 1887, the celebration of the sixtieth year of the queen's reign, commonly called the diamond jubilee, was made an imperial display, calculated to impress the British public with the all-embracing character of the British empire. Again, more decisively than before, it was made the occasion for emphasising the community of interests between mother country and colonies; and the premiers of the self-governing colonies, invited to take part in the celebration, were invited also to take part in the second colonial conference. Again questions of imperial defence came under discussion, and the advance in the colonial consciousness of the duty to take part in imperial defence was marked by the offer of Cape Colony to contribute a battleship to the navy. Towards a closer fiscal union there were hints of the possible suggestion of an imperial customs union. There were no signs of an inclination on the part of any of the colonies to abate anything from the completeness of their independent control in fiscal matters; but Canada's intention of reducing her protective tariffs in favour of British goods was announced.

1897. The diamond jubilee.

The colonial conference.

An Opposition, by no means at one with itself, permitted the Government to abstain from any important legislation during 1899, and by the autumn South Africa had become the all-absorbing topic. Nor was there any legislative activity during the next year when the war was still in full swing. Lord Salisbury at last found the strain of combining the premiership with the foreign secretaryship too heavy; and Lord Lansdowne was transferred from the War Office to the Foreign Office. General dissatisfaction over the revelations of inefficiency at the War Office, for which Lord Lansdowne was held responsible, created some apprehensions as to the new foreign secretary's fitness for his post. Mr. Goschen retired with a peerage, and the public were not overwell pleased by the appointment of two comparatively untried men, Lord Selbourne and Mr. Brodrick to the Admiralty and the War Office. The labour world also was much perturbed during this year by a decision in the law courts, reversed in

1900. Ministerial changes.

the Court of Appeal, but reaffirmed in the House of Lords. After a strike on the Taff Vale railway an action for damages was brought against the Union. It had been understood that the Trade Unions Act of the first Gladstone administration secured the funds of unions against such actions; but the Taff Vale judgment unexpectedly asserted their liability.

Taff Vale judgment.

Before these occurrences the government had resolved to confirm its position by a general election. The result showed the feebleness of the divided Opposition. It could not be said that the country was satisfied with the government or felt any real confidence in it; but we were in the middle of a war, and there was no disposition at all to trust its completion to a party divided against itself. The election was fought on the war issue, explicitly on the cry that every vote given for a Liberal was a vote given for the Boers; large numbers of Liberals in the country stayed away from the polls, and the Unionists were returned to power with the barely reduced majority of 134. The Unionists were given a new lease of power by what was known as the 'Khaki Election,' and they did not hesitate to use it as an authority for carrying out afterwards a domestic programme which the war had forced into abeyance.

The khaki election.

The colonies, as we have seen, showed their own lively consciousness of the imperial idea by taking an active part in helping the mother country in the South African struggle, by sending contingents of volunteer troops which rendered admirable service. The idea of unification had gained ground, and in this year the Australasian colonies, with the exception of New Zealand, followed the example of the Dominion of Canada and established for themselves a federal government. It departed, however, from the Canadian model in this, that whereas in Canada the several provinces retained powers of self-government specifically delegated by the central government, in Australia the central government was to exercise only specified powers delegated by the several colonies. The bill sanctioning the federation

Australian federation.

was adopted by the imperial parliament in 1900, and the federation, as the Commonwealth of Australia, became an accomplished fact on 1st January 1901.

In February 1901, while the shadow of war still lay over the empire, the long reign of Queen Victoria ended amid universal mourning. By the succession of King Edward VII. the Crown was brought into closer relations with the country than during the reign of the old queen, who had withdrawn herself from the public eye since the death of the prince consort, though she had never ceased to discharge her political functions. In the last years of her life she had exercised a very large influence not only in relation to ministers but also among the crowned heads of Europe; and she had recovered the popularity which had waned during the earlier years of her retirement. Still, however, her public appearances had been rare; and the new king's very active participation in social functions brought him into closer touch with his subjects.

1901. Death of Queen Victoria.

The new reign was not inaugurated by any activity on the part of the government. The divergencies among the Liberal leaders were apparently becoming more instead of less marked; if Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman had become the somewhat doubtfully recognised chief after Sir William Harcourt's retirement, it was no secret that many of them still hoped that Lord Rosebery would cease to 'plough a lonely furrow,' and would enable the Liberal Imperialists to rally to him. The government gained no popularity by the war secretary's new scheme for army reorganisation, which was scoffed at by many Unionists, as well as by the Opposition. At the end of the year it appeared that Lord Rosebery was preparing to resume his place as a party leader. He delivered a speech at Chesterfield, in which the central ideas were, insistence upon the need for an efficiency, in which the government had shown themselves conspicuously lacking, coupled with a demand that our rulers should discover some method of bringing the apparently interminable war to an end, and joined to an invitation to the Liberal

Liberal discussions.

The Chesterfield speech.

party to 'clean its slate' and make a fresh start. There was a general expectation that a sufficient body of Liberal Imperialists and dissatisfied Unionists would combine under Lord Rosebery's leadership to form a party which would command the confidence of the bulk of the electorate.

Still Lord Rosebery declined to adopt the rôle assigned to him; and in 1902 the government felt it necessary to de-
1902. velop an active programme which should revive the energies of its supporters. The two principal measures that were introduced, however, were calculated rather to unite the Opposition than to rally supporters to the government. The imposition of a shilling registration duty on imported corn was vehemently attacked as being in reality a tentative measure intended to pave the way for food taxes. Much more immediately effective was the new Education Bill. From a controversial point of view the great question was that of financing the voluntary or denominational schools. It was proposed, broadly speaking, that the voluntary schools should retain their denominational character, but should be financed out of public funds. The Anglican clergy and the Roman Catholics argued that religious teaching is an essential feature in any real education, and that religious teaching which puts on one side doctrines regarded as fundamental by those bodies is in effect anti-religious. On the other hand, the Nonconformists in general argued that religious teaching, as far as children are concerned, should be restricted to those matters in respect of which all professedly Christian bodies are in agreement. This latter principle was recognised in the board schools. Here then was the crux. If the same principle were applied to the denominational schools, they would lose their *raison d'être*, since they had been originally built and maintained with the express intention of bringing up the children who attended them as Anglicans or Roman Catholics. If, on the other hand, the principle were not applied, then Nonconformist ratepayers would be paying money to be expended on the education of children in beliefs which those ratepayers held to be erroneous. No adjustments could get out of the difficulty that the denomina-

The third Education Act.

tionalists were determined to secure that their schools should retain their definite denominational atmosphere unimpaired; while the Nonconformists were equally determined to resist the appropriation of their money as ratepayers to the maintenance of denominational teaching of which they disapproved. The government bill, though it did not perfectly satisfy the most energetic advocates of denominationalism, did in effect ensure that the schools should be maintained in their full denominational character, while practically financed out of public funds.

The bill met with a stubborn opposition. It was finally passed only in the autumn session. In July, before that time came, Lord Salisbury had retired. His withdrawal removed from the stage the last political leader who stood for the old aristocratic Conservatism; sympathetically disposed towards the social needs of the populace, but essentially antagonistic to their demands for political power; convinced that political power could be wielded with safety to the state only by the educated classes, by men bred in a certain political atmosphere and a certain political tradition, the tradition of a governing class. He was in no sense a disciple of Lord Beaconsfield, who had never been afraid of democracy, but had regarded any form of electorate, whether with a wide or a narrow franchise, as a body to be managed, guided, and educated by the controlling genius of statesmen. Even his foreign policy was only a continuation of the Beaconsfield tradition, in so far as it was for some time dominated by suspicions of Russia and belief in the necessity for maintaining the integrity of the Turkish empire; and before the end of his days he had on that head delivered himself of the characteristic utterance that we had been 'putting our money on the wrong horse.' Gladstonian Liberalism he regarded as a mere submission to the sway of the least competent portion of the electorate, and he laid down the principle of opposing to that domination the House of Lords as permanently representing the more competent classes in the country. His appeal was made always to the cultivated intelligence, never

Lord Salisbury's retirement, July.

to the imagination or to popular interests; wherein he differed essentially both from Lord Beaconsfield and from Mr. Chamberlain. Both of them were motive forces; he was an arresting force—and an arresting force applied to the democratic element in the Unionist party as well as in the Opposition.

CHAPTER X. THE VICTORIAN ERA

I. Political Developments

It is a curious fact that while we are in the habit of speaking of the Victorian era, the Elizabethan era, and even of the age of Anne, there has been no king of England whose name is similarly distinguished. Queen Anne has achieved a somewhat fictitious eminence derived from the victories of the duke of Marlborough and from the Augustan literature. But the age of Anne was at the best only a moment of brilliancy; the Elizabethan and Victorian eras were prolonged periods of immense development. The reign of Queen Victoria is the longest in our history; it covered just under two-thirds of a century; and that century has probably changed the conditions of life in Europe and in America far more than any other equal period. If an era can be said to open with any particular date, we should in fact name 1830, not 1837, as the significant year; and on the other hand we might very possibly hesitate to name 1901 as the closing year; but, broadly speaking, the reign of Queen Victoria may be fairly treated as constituting an era; and we have now to survey such of its characteristic developments as have not been sufficiently co-ordinated or emphasised in the course of the narrative.

A legitimate title.

As to the part played in it by the queen herself, no one would claim for her that it was one either so picturesque or so active as that of Queen Elizabeth; but it would be not less erroneous to question that her remarkable personality was one of the real and vital influences which have to be taken into account. It can hardly be doubted that before the queen's accession a positive hostility to monarchism had been growing among the masses; and the affection and respect which the

The queen.

queen drew to herself acted on this as an effective check. But something more was required to give the Crown real value and weight in the constitution. The kings of the House of Hanover since George I., who was little more than a figure-head, had tried as hard as they dared to get their own way, and had submitted with a bad grace when they were afraid to follow any other course. George III. was the only one of them who had to any extent succeeded in getting his own way. But this view of the functions of a constitutional monarch led to the conclusion that such a monarch, unless endowed with quite extraordinary abilities, would inevitably become either a nuisance or a nonentity. It was the part of Queen Victoria to demonstrate that she need be neither the one nor the other, provided at least that she were capable and conscientious. Affection and respect might have left her a nonentity still; her wisdom placed the Crown on a different footing altogether.

Queen Victoria and her ministers.

There was nothing revolutionary, nothing sudden, nothing even precisely apparent in the change which took place during the first five-and-twenty years of the queen's reign. There was no thwarting of the policy of ministers, no thrusting of an antagonistic policy upon them, no suspicion that the rise or fall of statesmen, or that even of a single one of them, would depend upon the queen's pleasure or displeasure. But that is what would have occurred if the system which George III. introduced had been pushed forward. To all appearance the sovereign placed herself in her ministers' hands. Only twice did the public become aware of a conflict—once over the 'bedchamber question,' and once over Lord Palmerston's conduct of foreign affairs. This second case provides a clear illustration of that conception of the royal function in which the strength of constitutional monarchy lies. The sovereign made it her business to know, and claimed it as her right that she should know, all that was going on; that her ministers should not act while she was in the dark as to their action or without giving her an opportunity of expressing her own views. In other words, the sovereign did not claim to direct and control policy, but did

claim to be systematically consulted. And she proved her right to be so consulted by her mastery of affairs. The principle was established before Lord Palmerston formed the administration at the head of which he remained, with one short interval, till the close of his life. For forty years more that principle was acted upon by the queen and her ministers; and throughout those forty years an increasing weight attached to the queen's judgment. The general effect was to give the maximum value to the wisdom of a capable sovereign, without depriving the cabinet of a particle of practical control; so that the unwisdom of an injudicious sovereign would have the least possible effect. The Victorian era, in short, fixed the lines on which constitutional monarchy provides the maximum of benefit with the minimum of risk; the lines on which there is every reason to suppose that it will continue for generations to come.

Technically, the rights and the powers of the Crown in the year 1901 remained precisely what they were in the year 1830. A real development had taken place, but it was one of constitutional custom, not of law. The second line of constitutional change within the United Kingdom was one of law, not of custom. The Reform Bill of 1832 by statutory enactment converted the House of Commons into a democratic body, though it can hardly yet be affirmed that it has made the government strictly democratic. When Queen Victoria's predecessor came to the throne half the members of the House of Commons were returned practically by the aristocracy, and the remainder were elected on a franchise which was extremely limited and extremely irregular. The only class in the country which was fully represented in parliament was the landed class. The Reform Act extended and regulated the franchise, so that the whole of the middle class received full representation. Neither birth nor land nor wealth conferred control, though all three in varied degrees carried a certain influence. But the entire labouring class was still without representation when Queen Victoria ascended the throne. Thus there still remained a basis for a revolutionary propaganda, though in a form by no means so violent as in countries where a feudal oligarchy

The democratic development.

was yet dominant. Half-way through the reign the artisan was admitted to the franchise; and after another interval the same rights were extended to the agricultural labourer. Whether or no artisans and agricultural labourers are the best judges of what is in their own interest may be a matter of dispute; but the Victorian era conferred upon them the right of exercising that judgment instead of requiring them to accept the views of those whose interests appeared to conflict with their own. The representatives of the people in the House of Commons ceased to be drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of those who had enjoyed a classical education. The democratic principle was established by purely constitutional methods, and perhaps with more completeness than in any state outside the British empire.

The third characteristic change of the period, to which the term constitutional may, perhaps, still be applied, is imperial, and concerns the relations of the mother country with the colonies. It may be briefly expressed as a transformation of colonies into self-governing states. Setting aside India, to which the term colony could only be applied in a quite distinct sense, the conception of colonies and their status was entirely changed. Seventy years ago they were outlets for British expansion, for the overflow of the British population, fostered for the convenience of the mother country. Subject to the convenience of the mother country, and to her demands on the score of morality, they were to be left to go their own way when they had acquired sufficient growth. But it was still assumed that their self-government should be limited, although the disastrous experiment of taxing them without their own consent was not again attempted. The principles, however, which had led Englishmen to demand for themselves the Reform Act of 1832 caused them also to recognise the propriety of permitting the substantial colonies to govern themselves on lines corresponding to the home government of England. The advisability of this course was brought home to the British mind by the events in Canada at the outset of Queen Victoria's reign. Almost immediately, the Canadas received a system of

The imperial development.

self-government very much more complete than they had hitherto enjoyed. In a few years responsible government in the full sense followed for one after another of the Australasian colonies, and finally for Cape Colony and Natal.

Responsible government was both symptom and cause of the new colonial idea, which received a fresh impulse on the federation of the North American colonies. The source of it, perhaps, was in the original reunion of the Canadas in 1840. Under the old system particularism had been carried to extreme limits. The new idea was based on insistence upon identities of interest and upon the strengthening force of unity; but it did not seek to destroy diversity. At the back of it, however, lay the imperial conception of the unity, not only of groups, but of the whole empire. Neither at home nor in the colonies did the conception at first appear to grip the public mind. At home the suspicion that colonies were as much an incubus as a help had become too deeply implanted to be quickly eradicated. There was a traditional consciousness that the defence of colonies was not paid for by colonial purses; while in the colonies there was jealousy of British intervention in colonial affairs.

A conception of slow growth,

Moreover, the colonies did not at first see any great need for closer unity among themselves. Lord Carnarvon's schemes were received with extreme chilliness in South Africa; and the most effective impulse towards Australasian federation down to a very late period was indignation at what was looked upon as the disregard of colonial interests by the imperial government. At home the idea of imperial federation, though sedulously cultivated by sundry persons of importance, was for the most part looked upon as an academic dream of politicians of the less practical order. Although there were leading statesmen and leading thinkers standing outside the field of politics who strove persistently to emphasise the imperial idea, their efforts appeared to bear little fruit, as far as the general public was concerned, until Mr. Chamberlain (that least academic of statesmen) became its prophet. The manner in which the Canadians and Australasians rallied to the flag when the South

but in the end realised.

African War broke out gave a tremendous impulse to imperial enthusiasm, and established the conception of imperial unity as among the most vital products of the Victorian era.

The age of Free Trade.

At the moment when Queen Victoria died, it is probable that practically every person in the country whose opinion carried any weight would have declared with alacrity that the most valuable and most permanent material birth of the Victorian era was Free Trade. The same influence which did so much to revolutionise the popular idea of the relations between the mother country and her colonies was in the course of a few years to effect a revolution in the ideas of one of the two great parties on the subject of Free Trade. But whether or no Free Trade is destined to hold its own—whether it is to be the permanent basis of Britain's economic system or merely a transitory episode—the change from Protection to Free Trade was among the most prominent and far-reaching of the events of the Victorian era. Huskisson laid the foundations of Free Trade, Peel raised the fabric, Gladstone completed it. Lord Beaconsfield, once the most energetic advocate of Protection, ultimately pronounced also its most uncomplimentary epitaph, perhaps prematurely. But the fact stands out clearly that the country during the reign of William IV. and at the outset of that of Queen Victoria was in a state of very serious economic depression; that Peel effected an economic revolution; and that the revolution was attended and followed by an unparalleled economic recovery and expansion.

Completeness of its victory.

For half a century the theory and practice of Free Trade held undisputed supremacy in the United Kingdom, its opponents being restricted to those who held that a tax on corn would be an effective remedy for the diminution of the agricultural area. For a short time, at a later period, the terms reciprocity and fair trade had a brief vogue with a small section, but were in effect laughed out of court. No text-book would have been admitted into the schools which did not take for granted that British prosperity was the offspring of Free Trade. Apart from all other arguments, the way in which industrial progress in England dis-

tanced all competitors, while England stood almost alone as a free-trading community, appeared to take the whole question outside the field of reasonable argument. Between 1850 and 1900 it would be hardly too much to say that no book would have been given a hearing which seriously advocated a return to Protection. During that half century, Free Trade doctrines held the field without dispute in the United Kingdom; and during that half century British industrial supremacy was no less indisputable. That Free Trade and industrial supremacy were related as cause and effect was an inference so obvious as to be practically inevitable. The progress of Protectionist countries in the latter half of the period, though in some instances remarkable, did not in the least shake the confidence of Free Traders or draw the reconsideration of the theory of Free Trade into the range of practical politics. But the revival of the controversy was not to be postponed for long.

Russophobia.

If there should be sought another political characteristic of the Victorian age, based, not on the domestic history of the empire, but on international relations, there would be justification for describing the era as that of Russophobia. The fear and suspicion of Russian designs had its rise in the years immediately preceding the accession of Queen Victoria, and persisted from one end of her reign to the other. At no time were they altogether absent. This was the case with no other state. Russsia, France, and the United States were the three nations, and the only three nations, whose interests, at least until the closing years of the period, at one time or another threatened seriously to collide with those of Britain. But if British and French now and then shook their fists at each other across the Channel, and threatening language was occasionally heard from the White House, there was no impression of permanent hostility, such as subsisted between this country and Russia. Alone among European powers, Great Britain and Russia are Asiatic powers also. But the Russian expansion has the advantage of territorial continuity, whereas the continuity of the British empire is oceanic. The Russian rule in Central Asia is only half alien, the British rule in India is alien

wholly. Russia's expansion brought her borders nearer and ever nearer to those of India, which have their natural physical limit in the great mountain ranges. Russia, in short, was the one European power which was geographically capable of threatening the British dominion in India; and although it might be politically convenient for a British statesman at one time to scoff at 'Mervousness,' and for another to recommend the study of 'large maps' as an antidote, Britons in England and in India continued subject to fits of excitement every time it was realised that Russia had moved a step nearer. No one ever had a doubt that any European power would consider itself entitled to turn us out of India if it got the chance and wished to do so.

Russophobia and the British parties.

It is curious to observe incidentally that the attitude of hostility to Russia and suspicion of her aims were, in the first instance, characteristic of Liberalism, although as Liberalism advanced, the tradition was appropriated by the Conservative party. The explanation of the paradox lies in the fact that antagonism to Russia involved in the Near East a friendly attitude towards Turkey. If Russian autocracy was repellent to Liberal ideas, it was still less possible to reconcile those ideas with Ottoman practice, which before the end of the reign was proving too much for Lord Salisbury. But however uneasy Liberal statesmen might feel over British responsibility for the preservation of the Turkish empire, no government, whether Liberal or Conservative, throughout the reign was ever able to feel itself relieved from the necessity of watching Russia with suspicion.

Russia incalculable.

The fear of Russia was not confined to Great Britain, for two main reasons. One was that her enormous resources, together with the secrecy of her government, combined to make it extremely difficult to gauge her power of offensive action. The other reason was a sense of Russia's invulnerability, which had been brought home to the world by the terrific disaster of Napoleon's Moscow campaign. To every European power Russian hostility was an incalculable danger, which of necessity was rated more highly than it probably

deserved to be. Russia understood her own position and its advantages to the full, and her diplomatists could fall back on an attitude of defiance, when hard pressed, with a lively expectation of being taken at her own valuation. Thus in every diplomatic encounter with one European power or with many, Russia came off with the best possible bargain. It was not till her war with Japan in the present century that the Russian terror was laid.

II. Europe, Nationalism, and the Outer World

The future historian whose mind shall be primarily engaged on political events will probably point to the Victorian era as that of the development of nationalities. The old European system was not nationalist but dynastic; and the congress of Vienna confirmed the old system which the triumphs of the first Napoleon had temporarily overturned. The re-established system was in full possession when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Her accession, indeed, in some degree emphasised it by the dynastic separation of Hanover from the British Crown. In the United Kingdom, in France, in Spain, and in Portugal the dynastic dominion was practically co-terminous with a nationality; and it might be said that the Switzers also had created a separate nationality for themselves, in spite of diversities of language, of race, and of religion. But for the rest, nationality and dominion had little enough in common. One part of Italy was ruled by a Bourbon dynasty, another part was subject to the Austrian emperor, another part was under papal sway. Of what was left, the whole was not even under a single prince. Austria stood at the head of the German nationality, but German Austria was only a small section of the Austrian empire; and the rest of Germany was broken up into a number of sovereign states, with very little cohesion. The Austrian empire comprised a German section, more than one Slavonic section, and a Magyar section. The Polish people retained a sense of nationality, while Poland, like Italy, was partitioned under

The old European system not nationalist.

foreign rulers. The principle of nationality had received recognition since 1814 almost exclusively in the two comparatively insignificant cases of the separation of Greece from the Turkish empire and of Belgium from Holland. Half the kingdom of Denmark was German; while Sweden and Norway, united politically, were more conscious of their national separateness than of their national unity. The Slavonic or semi-Slavonic provinces of the Turkish empire were still completely under the Ottoman dominion.

Nationalist lines of the reconstruction.

In all this the Victorian era saw an entire change. It is true that at the end of the nineteenth century the principle of nationalism was still not established in completeness. The Austrian empire was as heterogeneous as before, except that its dominion in Italy was a thing of the past; the Balkan states had not yet fully worked out their nationalism; and Polish nationalism had perished, as it seemed, for ever. But every change which took place in the map of Europe found its basis in nationalism, unless it be claimed that the Rhine provinces of which France was bereft in 1871 formed an exception—a view which Germans would indignantly repudiate. There is colour even for attributing the same character to the cession of Nice to France by Victor Emmanuel. The separation of Norway from Sweden was in the near future. Even where nationalism had not already won a complete victory progress had been made towards the acceptance of the principle, so far, at least, as national self-government may be regarded in that light.

Two aspects of nationalism.

It would be remarked, however, that nationalism has two aspects. It may tend to the division of a great state, where its parts are nationally separable, as was the case with Turkey, and as may yet be the case with Austria. But it also tends to unification, where separate states belong essentially to one nationality. In this latter sense its antithesis is particularism. The fundamental issue of the American Civil War was that between particularism and nationalism, and nationalism was victorious. Where particularism is dominant it spells disintegration. Where it survives, but is subordinated to nationalism, it tends to the forma-

tion of one or another among the types of state which are essentially federal. Within the British empire the first movements of the era were rather in the direction of particularism, of emphasising the separateness of the colonial states. The later unifying movement, which followed hard upon the first, is clearly recognisable as being essentially nationalist. It may be remarked that the Irish movement which claims that title was, in its primary aims, particularist. The great question at issue between its opponents and its supporters is precisely whether its success would lead to a new nationalism or to a definite separatism. The looseness of our ordinary phraseology has necessitated this somewhat prolonged analysis, because the existence of minor differences tends to create a confusion between particularism and nationalism; whereas, in fact, although the two may be identical by accident, as in the case of the Turkish empire, they may also be different but compatible, as in the case of the British empire, or incompatible, as in the case of the United States. What survives the analysis is the main thesis that the Victorian era has been generally marked by the development of the principle of nationalism.

Of nationalism in its unifying aspect the two outstanding European examples of the period are those of Germany and Italy. Italy, like Hellas of old, was utterly given up to particularism through the centuries; so that since the downfall of the Roman empire only one Italian state, that of Venice, ever ranked as a power of the first importance. Italian unity was an ideal towards which Italian patriots, from Dante onwards, turned longing but despairing eyes. Italy's fairest provinces never ceased to be bones of contention, prizes to be fought for by foreign dynasties. Nevertheless, the passion of Italian patriotism was never killed; perhaps, though there is something paradoxical in the suggestion, it gained strength from the doings of the first Napoleon. But there was never a time when its realisation seemed more remote than at the opening of the Victorian era.

Unification—Italy.

The prophet of Italian liberation and Italian unity—the two were inseparable—was Giuseppe Mazzini: the organiser was

Cavour. Each in his own way, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, played essential parts in the great drama. Different as were the ideas of the three first-named, each of them was necessary for the success of the movement. Heart, brain, and hand did not always act in concert; but it is not possible to weigh the comparative importance of the three. Mazzini and Garibaldi were both republicans; Cavour was a monarchist. Mazzini, moved by a passionate virtue, was yet able to reconcile his enthusiasm for right with the permission—if not, as his enemies declared, the actual encouragement—of political assassination. Cavour, far less swayed by moral considerations, repudiated all methods which would tend to alienate European sympathy. Preaching, intriguing, elaborate planning were all outside Garibaldi's range; but he was the incarnation of a perfectly selfless patriotism, which laughed at personal peril and counted nothing impossible. The brain of Cavour turned to account the faith and the enthusiasm which Mazzini and Garibaldi inspired in his countrymen, and supplemented them by also turning to account the personal ambitions of the emperor of the French. It was Cavour's happy fortune in the great task which he undertook to be able to act as minister of a prince, Victor Emmanuel, who was admirably fitted for the rôle he had to play, at a time when it was convenient to the third Napoleon to range himself against Austria. The result of this combination of persons and circumstances was to win that union of Northern Italy which was very soon able to transform itself into the unification of Italy. A power was created with a capacity for development as yet untested, but at the lowest estimate sufficiently vigorous to be an important factor in European politics; while Italian provinces ceased to provide the European powers with objects of contention.

Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour.

Victor Emmanuel.

The creation of a united Italy was sufficient in itself to modify the balance of the European powers, the creation of a united Germany not only modified the balance, but completely changed the centre of gravity. The Congress of Vienna and all that followed therefrom left Germany, as it had

Unification—German.

been in the past, a congeries of states which could by no means be counted upon to act together in any emergency. The whole group was indeed dominated, unless even that term is too strong, by Austria; but the Austrian ascendency was constantly open to challenge by Prussia. Prussia and Austria both ranked individually as 'great' powers; but neither the one nor the other could have counted upon other German support in an aggressive policy, and no other German state could have counted for more than a makeweight in any European complications. A united Germany had never been known; for the old Holy Roman Empire had never been organised into a real unity. Now there were aspirations after a united Germany, but outside Prussia they were generally Pan-Germanic, requiring the inclusion of both Prussia and Austria. Probably the association of Austria with Hungary and Bohemia would, in any case, have prevented any realisation of the Pan-Germanic ideal. The unification of Germany was to take another form.

Bismarck and Austria.

A federation of all the German states on a simple footing of equality could have led to no satisfactory result. A federation in which Austria and Prussia stood side by side on a plane above the rest would have been equally unmanageable; a dual control habitually means a conflict of controls. In no federation would either Austria or Prussia yield pride of place to the other. The conclusion of Otto von Bismarck, on the side of Prussia, was that a united Germany meant a Germany without Austria, a Germany in which Prussian supremacy should be indisputable. Austria could not be excluded unless by force of arms; Prussia would not be supreme without an unchallengeable military supremacy. The first step, then, was so to organise the military system as to make Prussia invincible. The second was to demonstrate her invincibility by expelling Austria. The condition for securing the necessary military organisation was the over-riding of the constitutional opposition. The constitutional opposition was over-ridden; the military organisation was perfected, and experimentally tested in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, in which Prussia and Austria posed as the champions of German nationalism. Holstein then

provided the opportunity of challenging Austria. The military power of Prussia was put to a decisive test, and its decisive superiority to that of her rival was completely demonstrated in the Seven Weeks' War. Austria was definitely separated from Germany.

Bismarck and France.

Prussia strengthened her own individual position by absorbing sundry North German states—a process which was in itself a blow to the dynastic theory of states. The next aim was to form a strong union of the German states under Prussian supremacy. For the fulfilment of this aim the first step was the establishment of the North German Confederation, where the interests of all were allied closely enough to make the union immediately practicable. The complete union had to wait only during the very short time required to make the South Germans willing to subordinate their particularism to nationalism, through the recognition that their own vital interests were bound up with nationalism. But such a thorough consolidation of Germany would present a barrier to the ambitions of France; and at the same time those same French ambitions provided the strongest possible incentive to German unification. Nothing could so effectively convince Germany of the need for unity as a victorious conflict with France; so that the organisation of a victorious French war formed the next item of the Bismarck programme. That programme was carried out with entire success. The Prussian war was made a German war, and it united all Germany, with the exception of German Austria, in the new German empire under Prussian supremacy.

The German empire, Austria, and France.

The new German empire was essentially a military creation, resting on the perfection of the military organisation. It was not the army of a nation, but a nation in arms, that had poured its battalions into France. After the Franco-German war no power and no combination of powers could venture to attack united Germany with a light heart; but the unification of Germany had been accomplished by means which had at the same time a decisive effect on two other powers. Austria, severed at last

from Germany and from the German interests which were extraneous to her own empire, was turned back upon herself, and upon the endeavour to achieve a greater unity within her own borders, not without a considerable measure of success. On the other side, in France, where the second empire had been of necessity, in the nature of things, aggressive, that empire was overthrown. For a time the military power of France was shattered. She had to reorganise herself, and the process was one which involved long and severe internal dissension. That indomitable people struggled triumphantly through its ordeal. But the most prominent international fact of the Victorian era remained the creation of the German military empire.

There is, however, another feature of the period to which the term international may be applied and which must not be passed over. Outside of Europe the African continent was partitioned. Before the accession of Queen Victoria there were vast regions of the earth's surface which were still all but unknown. At the time of her death the whole habitable globe had been more or less traversed, and the European powers had entered into possession wheresoever there was not already existing a government which could properly be called civilised. Treaties had fixed for each its sphere of possible expansion, subject only to the qualifying truth that treaties are perishable instruments. But civilised states existed also, which were either wholly non-European, like China or Japan, or had very recently severed themselves from subjection to European states, like those of America. During the Victorian period the United States in the north consolidated themselves into a power of the first magnitude, and before its close they had entered the arena of international world-politics, as the result of their war with Spain and the annexation of the Philippines. The republics of the south, which had cut themselves adrift from Spain and Portugal, also organised themselves through much storm and stress and with many revolutions into states which were at last showing some promise of stability.

Extra-European states.

In the Far East Europe battered persistently at the gates of China, which with no less persistency strove to keep its doors

closed. Nevertheless, a lodgment was effected, Europe having a disposition to believe that the celestial empire might provide opportunities for European expansion. Experience, however, has somewhat tended to displace this expectation by a suspicion that China has only slept through the ages and may awaken with startling effects. This vision of a yellow peril was already quickened, at the close of the Victorian era, in the minds of those observers who realised the extraordinary change which had taken place in Japan. Japan surprised the world in the last decade of the century by her brilliant success in her duel with China. A much more startling demonstration of Japanese efficiency was to take place in the near future. But the fact of the Japanese development was already accomplished; very much, it may be said, as in the eighteenth century the military efficiency of Prussia was already an accomplished fact before Frederick the Great astonished Europe by demonstrating practically what no one had suspected. Throughout the last forty years of the nineteenth century Japan was quietly and unostentatiously investigating and appropriating those Western ideas and methods which she had hitherto shut out with no less determination than China herself. She was on the point of proving to the world—first, her own newly acquired importance, and, secondly, the possibility of self-development latent in the yellow races.

China and Japan.

Another characteristic of international politics developed during this period remains to be noticed, which may be expressed in the phrase, the 'Concert of Europe.' The conception, perhaps, had found its first notable expression as early as the Congress of Vienna, and the downfall of the first Napoleon. The underlying idea is that Europe, as a whole, is to be consulted in the settlement of questions which, while they are actually subjects of dispute between two or three powers, do in principle affect the interests of Europe at large; that they should be settled by the combined judgment and action of the European powers. It may be described as the doctrine of European intervention. As Europe arranged the re-settlement of Europe when Napoleon I. was relegated to St. Helena,

The European concert.

so Europe claimed, though not with uniform success, to intervene to control the power of the victor to dictate terms to the vanquished, and to enforce upon individual powers the fulfilment of engagements which received their sanction from the powers acting in agreement.

Practically the concert attempted to apply its energies mainly to questions affecting the Near East, and latterly more particularly in connection with matters arising from or connected with the Berlin Treaty. It proved a somewhat unwieldy instrument, not so much acting itself as preventing or checking the action of individual powers. Nevertheless, it was the expression of an idea which may still find a more adequate development as time goes on—the idea that Europe at large intends to preserve the peace, the idea of referring questions at issue to the common sense of law and justice, instead of to the superiority in diplomatic *finesse* or in arms of individual powers. But its inefficiency in the face of a power determined on an aggressive policy at all costs was to be demonstrated in 1914.

Its later development.

The same idea took a somewhat different shape in the development of the practice of referring disputes to arbitration. In this course Great Britain led the way, not without some sacrifice, since, rightly or wrongly, she adopted it in spite of a belief that there is a more or less unconscious bias against Great Britain in the mind of any possible arbitrator. The leading case, so to speak, was the Alabama award in 1872. And British uneasiness was not removed by the results of either the Vancouver or the Penjdeh arbitrations. The fear, however, that no prospect existed of reasonable impartiality where British interests are concerned was distinctly diminished when the Venezuela arbitration practically recognised the complete justice of the British claims. There can be no question that the idea of arbitration gained ground immensely during the Victorian era, to which it owed its birth, and several arbitration treaties were concluded between individual states before the close of the nineteenth century. The civilised instinct which seeks to substitute the judgment of a skilled tribunal for the

International arbitration.

arbitrament of war was further illustrated by the first meeting of an international congress at the Hague, with the avowed object of seeking means both for the prevention of war and for the mitigation of its inhumanity.

III. Social

Humanitarianism.

The peace movement is one aspect of a movement pervading the whole era which is called by names sometimes polite and sometimes the reverse. Humanitarianism is, broadly speaking, the spirit which seeks to relieve the physical sufferings of mankind, more particularly those which are attributable to human injustice. Its manifestations are occasionally grotesque and not seldom foolish in the case of emotional persons whose sympathetic feelings over-ride their reasoning powers. On the other hand, under control of reason, the application of the humanitarian spirit is the main motive towards social amelioration. Where the organisation of the state is employed to further its ends, it is apt to be labelled Socialism. But the reign of Queen Victoria saw it develop into such a dominant force that it entered largely into the programme of both political parties, the principal difference being in the objects selected for sympathy.

Its expression in legislation,

It has already been implied that the Victorian era, viewed as a chapter in British development, should be dated rather from the Reform Bill of 1832 than from the actual accession of Queen Victoria, since an immense amount of what must be regarded as essentially Victorian was already in actual progress during the thirties. The common sense of humanitarianism took active expression at a still earlier date when Sir Robert Peel, as home secretary, put an end to the monstrosities which then disfigured the criminal law of England by abolishing the death penalty in the case of trivial offences. But the most resolute of humanitarian reformers was Lord Shaftesbury, who forced forward in the teeth of economists legislation for the protection of women and children. Successive Factory Acts inaugurated state interven-

tion directed to the improvement of the lot of the labouring classes; it was the work of Conservative no less than of Liberal governments; it was usually opposed by those who saw or imagined that their own interests would suffer, and was supported by the rest; and, as a question of terminology, it would be interesting to know precisely how much of it was 'Socialistic' and how much was not. At any rate legislation of this type characterised the entire Victorian era as it had not characterised any previous era in European history. And it was the outcome in the main of an honest desire to protect the weak from being exploited by the strong; not of a desire to purchase the votes of the many by robbing the few, or of any conviction of the economic superiority of the agency of the state as compared with that of the individual.

But the altruism, humanitarianism, or sentimentalism of the age, whichever we may be pleased to call it, was more conspicuous in the field of personal endeavour than even of legislation. Philanthropic societies multiplied; and, after the Tractarians had expended their first burst of mediævalism, the Oxford movement itself in its subsequent stages, the broad Church movements of Maurice and Kingsley, and later revivalist movements, notably that connected with the Salvation Army, were all intimately associated with efforts for the elevation, material as well as spiritual, of the poorer classes of the community. Immense sums were subscribed for hospitals, and any public disaster, abroad as well as at home, made a readily answered appeal to the purse of charity. The 'enthusiasm of humanity' made an increasing call, not only for pecuniary aid but also for personal service, until playing at philanthropy became a fashionable craze, which was more embarrassing than useful to the genuine workers.

in philanthropic movements,

In one field this humanitarian tendency of the age was particularly marked. It strove especially to mitigate the horrors of war in certain aspects. The contagious zeal of one noble-hearted woman, Florence Nightingale, taught the whole civilised world to bestow on the wounded in war a care

and in war.

and attention which had no precedent in the past; and the Red Cross came to provide sanctuary more efficient than any shrine in the ancient days. The advance in medical science and surgery is not the only reason why so greatly increased a proportion of the wounded in the later wars of the century were enabled to recover. The instruments of slaughter have become far more efficient; but the wounds they inflict are more merciful, and public opinion demanded with increasing emphasis that the infliction of superfluous pain should be avoided.

Treatment of non-combatants.

Superfluous pain may be defined as pain which does not conduce to victory. It follows that the tendency was developed of increasing the protection extended to non-combatants. It must be remarked, however, that this in its turn involved a still more merciless attitude than before to those who abuse the non-combatant position. Extreme severity was displayed by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war, and the British were, somewhat extravagantly, charged with displaying a like severity in the South African War; but in both cases the principle acted upon was in essence a merciful one. Non-combatants could hardly be protected at all if they have the option of assuming the combatant rôle at their own pleasure. The wild and whirling words that were launched by ultra-humanitarians against Germans and British were quite unjustifiable on the true principles of humanity. They emphasise, indeed, the prevalence of humanitarian sentiment, but the actions against which they were directed were themselves the outcome of the desire to make war more and not less humane.[1]

Material progress.

The age was one of unprecedented material progress; because, broadly speaking, the world's productive power, and particularly the productive power of Great Britain, during the first forty years advanced much more rapidly than the increase of population in Great Britain and in Europe. The

[1] This, however, is a comment which can by no means be applied to the monstrous distortion of a sound principle for the avowed purpose of terrorising an innocent population, which of late has especially distinguished the propaganda of German Culture.

growth in productive power was due mainly to the great developments of machinery worked by steam and to the increasing applications of electricity. The luxuries of the past generation became the necessities of the next, as the cheapening of production cheapened the product. The endless development of the large towns was one of the most conspicuous features of the period; another was the enormous change in the means and rapidity of communication. When William IV. was king the world still travelled on foot, on horseback, by carriage, by coach, or by the humble cart, according to its means. Sixty years later the world did all its travelling at between thirty and sixty miles an hour. England had become a network of railways, and the traveller starting from London reached Edinburgh in less time than it had taken his grandfather to get to Brighton or Oxford. In King William's time the Englishman who wished to visit India took passage in a sailing ship, which carried him round the Cape of Good Hope; sixty years later he could get from London to Bombay in less than three weeks. The first long-distance steamship passenger service was established in 1840; sixty years later the ocean routes were dotted with huge floating hotels, and New York was less than a week's journey from Liverpool.

Steam and steel, it may be remarked, completely changed naval construction, and the old line-of-battle ship disappeared from the face of the sea. The ironclad took its place, and following the ironclad, the torpedo craft and the submarine. **Warships.**

It was not only by steam that rapidity of communication was increased. The change wrought by electricity would be probably quite as astonishing to any one who had gone to sleep in 1837 and been awakened for the queen's jubilee. The messages which would have taken days, weeks, or months in transmission were conveyed over the wires in a few hours, or even in a few minutes, and people were even beginning to substitute telephonic communication for the written word. Frequency of correspondence was greatly facilitated very early in the reign by the introduction of the penny **Electric communication.**

post, and afterwards by the continuous recognition that cheap rates, like low prices, enhance the demand for all conveniences and luxuries; that a hundred persons will spend half a crown without consideration for an object on which one person would hesitate to spend a sovereign.

Medicine and sanitation.

Science added to the comfort of life probably more during the reign of Queen Victoria than during any equal period before. It is the custom of mankind to take health for granted, and to look upon ill-health as an abnormal grievance; and improvements in the public health are apt to be overlooked. It was due to medical and sanitary science that the general standard of health in Great Britain was raised immensely. The great epidemics of the past which periodically devastated the countries of Europe had already almost lost their terrors; the bubonic plague had not visited England since the seventeenth century. But other diseases were still rampant on occasion, which by the end of the century had become infinitely less destructive. Typhus practically vanished; the visitations of cholera in the first half of the reign had become impossible, at least with the same virulence, before the century closed. The prevalence of consumption was much reduced. Smallpox, in spite of occasional outbreaks, ceased to account for many deaths; and a face which bore obvious traces of its ravages was rarely to be seen in a later Victorian crowd. The detection of microbes as the cause of many diseases provided remedies which, in various cases, conspicuously in that of diphtheria as well as of smallpox, proved extremely successful; in spite of the determination of a considerable number of persons to deny that any knowledge of value was derivable from experiments upon live animals, to which the enormous majority of medical men attribute these developments in the art of healing. On the other hand it must be admitted that there is a school which credits the improvement in public health mainly to the recognition of the uses of fresh air and pure water, open windows, and increased cleanliness. These, however, no less than the development of the germ theory of disease, were characteristic of this era.

There is no dispute, however, as to the benefits derived by surgical patients from the effective introduction of anæsthetics in 1846, and of the antiseptic treatment associated with the name of Sir Joseph, afterwards Lord Lister. These two great discoveries have made possible an immense number of operations which, without them, could not have been performed at all, and permitted many more which previously were accompanied by so much danger to the patient that they could only be adopted in the gravest emergencies.

Anæsthetics and antiseptics.

If science had a direct practical bearing on the material aspects of life of so exceptionally marked a character, its achievements in speculative regions were no less striking. **Evolution:** Since the final demonstration that the world goes round the sun it is probable that no discovery has so come home to the popular imagination or has so profoundly modified its conceptions as the doctrine of evolution, which is inseparably associated with the name of Charles Darwin. The geologists had alarmed religious orthodoxy some while before by adducing proofs that the globe and the entire animal creation had not been made in six days of twenty-four hours in the year 4004 B.C., as calculated by Biblical chronologists. The orthodox, however, had begun to realise that the authority of the Scriptures remained unshaken, when they received a new shock from the promulgation of the Darwinian theory, which, as a matter of course, was wildly misrepresented, in all honesty, by its opponents. The creation of species had been taken for granted; its denial appeared to involve the denial of the Creator. If man was evolved out of the gorilla, or something like a gorilla, by natural selection and was not created by the Almighty in His own image, Christianity was a mere fable. The fact that many of the leading champions of the new biological doctrine were professedly sceptics in religion, who presently invented the term Agnostic to describe their own attitude, encouraged a popular and clerical impression that evolution spelt Atheism.

But before very many years had passed men of religious mind were adopting a very different attitude. The demon-

strable scientific fact cannot be shelved because it contradicts a preconceived theory. Religious truth does not cease to be truth because it has been associated with erroneous assumptions. Serious and acute thinkers found themselves able to believe everything in Christianity which seemed to them fundamental, while fully accepting everything that seemed to them to be necessarily involved in the theory of evolution. More than that, they found in the new doctrines a conception of the Creator more wonderful, more inspiring, and more convincing than had been possible before. The initial misconceptions of the meaning of evolution of species, the mistranslations of what Darwin had said into statements which were flatly at variance with his doctrine, gave place to a more general understanding of the fundamental truths for which he had enunciated a provisional formula. The fact that every species survives and progresses by progressive adaptation to environment, or perishes by failure in adaptation, became as much a part of the common creed as the acceptance of the Copernican theory. But whereas at the outset it had seemed to some that this doctrine dispensed with a Divine will altogether, the conviction gained ground that the Divine will manifested in this law of progress was more and not less Divine than that of an arbitrary power which does not proceed inevitably by law; that every demonstration of law in the universe is a demonstration of the Divine. This was the religious aspect of the acceptance of the Darwinian theory.

its acceptance.

To the popular mind science means a great deal when it takes the shape of tangible material inventions or, on the other hand, when it appears to have a direct bearing on religion and conduct. The world at large is not equally awake to the importance or the meaning of the discovery of laws and generalisations whose immediate bearing on everyday life is less obvious. It is not improbable, therefore, that men of science in the future will not find in the Darwinian theory the most vital contribution to science of the Victorian era. Beside it, if not above it, they will place the discovery of the law of the conservation of energy and the corresponding law of its dissipation.

Physics.

For these the age was indebted to James Prescott Joule and to Sir William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin. Michael Faraday's work on electro-magnetism belongs less distinctively to this period.

We are accustomed to think of English literature as having had certain periods of development, generally labelled as the Elizabethan, the Augustan, and the Revolutionary; the last extending roughly from Burns to Shelley. Will future generations recognise also a Victorian age of English literature? Perhaps in that form the question is superfluous, and would be better expressed by inquiring whether any special characteristics can be named as distinguishing the literature of the period. We are far enough away now from the work which was done fifty years ago or more to be able, perhaps, to appreciate it as accurately as the work of earlier periods; and there need be no hesitation in declaring that the first half of the reign gave birth to much that will rank with the best of English literature in the judgment of posterity. Of the second half of the reign it is less possible to speak with confidence—at least if we set aside what was done by men whose position was already achieved in the earlier period. **Literature.**

Among the Victorians there were certainly four poets who will claim to rank among the immortals; each of the four was born before the queen's accession. They represent four different phases of the Victorian view of life; of only one of them can it be said that he was not distinctively Victorian. The middle Victorian period was imbued with the sense that science was destroying the old bases of faith and morality. There were revolutionary spirits who found therein cause for rejoicing, who felt that the world was being released from a bondage. Their attitude found sonorous and vehement expression in the poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne, who was endowed with an unequalled power of controlling the music of words; of whom, however, it is to be observed, that the impulses which moved him were of French rather than of English origin. The revolutionary spirit which he breathed in religion, in morals, and in politics was not generally characteristic of any **Swinburne and Arnold.**

large number of his countrymen. In most direct contrast to him stands Matthew Arnold, the representative of those who felt that the old landmarks were irrevocably gone, and accepted the fact with a mournful resignation.

Tennyson.

But the poet who gave expression to the peculiar tendencies of the age, who gave voice to the fears and the doubts, to the hopes and to the faith of his contemporaries was Alfred Tennyson; and the poem which, whatever may be said of its merits or demerits, will stand for all time as the voice of the Victorian era, its most characteristic utterance, is Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. For the age was one which, afflicted with doubt, nevertheless clung hard to faith, and realised that doubt is not the negation of faith; an age which was painfully conscious of groping in the twilight which precedes not the night but the dawn. The poet who, with a consummate mastery of form, gave expression to this feeling, set the keynote for a host of minor writers; it is possibly a sign of some defect in the master that so many imitations were scarcely distinguishable from his own minor work. Tennysonian verse not written by Tennyson was, beyond question, a characteristic product of the age.

Browning.

The fourth of the poets is contrasted with the other three as not being representative of any specifically Victorian phase and also for setting at naught that demand for graces of style and lucidity of expression which met with so exquisite a response from his great contemporaries. Robert Browning was the most audacious of optimists at a time when optimism was rare, or spoke only with a faltering voice. His robust faith rested on foundations which enabled him to dispense with those supports which seemed so vital to others who were less sturdy. It ignored conventions, as the poet ignored conventions in the form of his verse. Browning's tremendous individuality made imitation of him impossible; it produced results in his own work which verged on the grotesque, and in the eyes of some critics passed the verge; to parody it was easy, but attempted imitation could only produce distortion. To catch an echo of Tennyson or Swinburne was easy and tempting,

to catch an echo of Browning was neither. Whatever place future generations may assign to Browning among English poets he will be recognised as one of the great intellectual forces to which the age gave birth, but not as one of its characteristic products.

In prose literature as in poetry the greatest names were those of men who were born and in some cases were already active before Victoria's accession. Among these **History.** Thomas Carlyle has some affinity to Browning as having an individuality entirely impossible of imitation. No Victorian writer ever attempted to model himself consciously or unconsciously after Carlyle; the peculiarities of his style made him equally easy to parody and equally impossible to imitate. It would be hardly too much to say that the characteristic prose style of the period was created by a man of infinitely less imaginative power and intellectual originality, Thomas Babington Macaulay. In their several ways both Carlyle and Macaulay did much to awaken their contemporaries to the value and interest of history; though the impulse they gave to historical studies evolved in the course of time a school of historians whose conceptions and methods were as remote as possible from the conceptions and methods of either of the two. To both of them historical writing was essentially an art, making its appeal to the reader's imagination and sense of the picturesque; and the same comment applies to James Anthony Froude and John Richard Green. But to the new school which dominated the second half of the reign, history belongs to the field not of art but of science, and has no concern with appeals to the imagination.

The great literary periods have usually been marked by the exceptional development of some specific literary form. Thus the most characteristic expression of the Shake- **The age of the novel.** spearean age was found in the drama; that of the so-called Augustan age in the essay and the satire; and that of the era of revolution in diverse poetic types. The form of literary expression characteristic of the Victorian era is undoubtedly the novel. Here, again, the great names belong

essentially to the earlier period. Of the novelists with a universally recognised title to greatness, nearly every one was born before Victoria's accession, and a new joy had already been added to life by the publication of *The Pickwick Papers*. By common consent Dickens and Thackeray head the muster roll of the British novelists after the death of Sir Walter Scott, whatever personal preferences we may have for one or the other. The work of both belongs definitely to the first half of the reign. So did that of the Brontës, and nearly all the best of George Eliot's. But among the host of writers who achieved a reputation during the seventies or later, there are probably not more than three, besides George Meredith, whose admirers claim for them a place in the front rank; and the best of George Meredith's work was fairly evenly distributed between the two periods.

Cheap books and newspapers.

In no field did the cheapening of distribution and production have a more remarkable effect than in that of literature. At the close of the century books were purchasable at prices undreamed of sixty years earlier. First editions were printed of works by popular authors of a magnitude which would have seemed incredible to Walter Scott's publishers; and so vast a market was created that humorists declared it to be less of a distinction to have written a novel than to have abstained from doing so. But more even than novel writing journalism was affected. The Victorian age was the age of the newspaper no less than of the novel. When Mr. Gladstone attacked the paper duties he very nearly brought about a constitutional crisis in the state; and he did bring about something very like a revolution by the enormous impulse which he gave to newspaper production. His opponents at the time dreaded the demoralising effect of enabling the masses to purchase pernicious political literature with their spare coppers. The evils of the cheap press, however, lay not so much in the power of unscrupulous journalists to mislead public opinion as in its tendency to cater for mere entertainment, to follow the popular fancy and give it expression instead of attempting to educate its public at all whether for good or for evil.

CHAPTER XI. POST-VICTORIAN

I. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain

A new defining line between parties was indicated when Mr. Gladstone made Home Rule for Ireland an immediate question of practical politics. Ten years later it had become *the* defining line. Those who, once members of the Liberal party, refused to associate themselves with Home Rule, definitely coalesced with the Conservatives to form the Unionist party. Lord Rosebery resigned the Liberal leadership and pronounced that Home Rule was not to be dealt with until a majority of the representatives not only of the United Kingdom, but within England itself, as the predominant partner, should pronounce in favour of it. But those who remained in the party fold all recognised Home Rule as at least one of the aims of the party, which it would be sought to realise as soon as the general feeling in its favour should be sufficiently preponderant. The party was a Home Rule party, though not prepared to insist that all other questions must give place to the carrying of Home Rule.

1902. The parties and Home Rule.

Then the Boer War divided the Liberals. One section held quite definitely that in the whole quarrel the Boers were in the right and the British were in the wrong. Another section held with equal definiteness that the maintenance of British supremacy in South Africa was a necessity, and that whatever blame might be attached to the British management of affairs the Boers had ultimately made it imperative to enforce that supremacy in arms. Public opinion was very ill-satisfied with the inefficiency displayed by the government in its management of the war, and especially in its failure to grasp the situation in time and to make adequate

The Liberal differences.

preparations. That dissatisfaction was expressed as strongly by Unionists as by Liberals, and at one time it had seemed far from impossible that a middle 'efficiency' party might be formed under the leadership of Lord Rosebery. But Lord Rosebery held aloof, and the Liberal Imperialists resisted the temptation to separate themselves from that wing of the party who were stigmatised as pro-Boers, though they rejected any sort of approval of the ideas embodied in that nickname. It was recognised that there was a distinct split in the party, but that it was one which need not be permanent. Apart from the question whether the war was just or unjust, there were no fundamental antagonisms in the general political views of the Liberals; that question soon ceased to have a dividing influence when the war itself was over.

A Unionist fissure imminent.

Already the Government was embarking upon a domestic programme admirably calculated to help the Opposition towards reconsolidation; and within twelve months of the peace a new question had been raised, which not only levelled the barriers within the Liberal ranks but split up the Unionist party itself—the question of Tariff Reform. Two measures introduced while Lord Salisbury was still premier may be said to have begun the process of Liberal re-integration, the corn tax and the Education Bill; because on both the Liberals could unite whole-heartedly in denouncing the government. It did not immediately appear that the general situation would be greatly affected by Lord Salisbury's retirement. Mr. Balfour became prime minister, and the duke of Devonshire leader of the government in the House of Lords. The withdrawal of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach sent Mr. Ritchie to the exchequer, and room was made in the cabinet for Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. George Wyndham. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain occupied the closing months of the year in a visit to South Africa.

When parliament met in 1903 it seemed for the moment that an atmosphere of comparative peace and harmony must prevail. The government introduced an Irish Land Bill which had the unprecedented effect of pleasing everybody in Ireland, includ-

ing the landlords. All parties were generally inclined to accept the principle that the object of land legislation should be the establishment of the tenant as the proprietor of the soil. The difficulty was how to enable the tenant to become the owner of his holding on terms which would not be unjust to the landlord. In this instance the problem was solved through the provision of the necessary funds by the British taxpayer, who had gradually learnt to accept the view that Ireland had in the past been unfairly treated in the interests of England, and that it was not unreasonable that England should incur some financial risks in redressing the balance.

1903. An Irish Land Bill.

To this peaceful atmosphere Mr. Chamberlain returned; and in May he dropped his bombshell. If he had been an Imperialist before, Imperialism had now become his one all-absorbing idea. The speech with which he startled the world was one announcing that the true aim of statesmanship must be the consolidation of the empire, and that the means to that end was a preferential tariff. The colonies had magnificently demonstrated the momentary reality of the bond of sentiment which linked them to the mother country by the ardour with which they had supported the empire in the recent South African contest; but sentimental bonds cannot be relied upon; they must be strengthened by the bond of material interest—what Carlyle used to call the 'cash nexus.' To create the new bond it was well worth while to make some economic sacrifice.

Mr. Chamberlain, May.

For fifty years the principle of Free Trade had been taken for granted by both political parties. Tariffs for the protection even of agriculture were regarded as dead. Tariffs as a method of bringing pressure to bear upon obstinately protectionist countries had been advocated under the name of Fair Trade, and Lord Randolph Churchill had coquetted with the idea, but it had been quietly shelved as a 'pious opinion.' Every one who was less than fifty years old or so had been brought up to believe that the Free Trade doctrines were axiomatic. Taxes could only be excused when

Economic orthodoxy.

they were imposed to provide revenue, and then only when they provided the maximum of revenue with the minimum of disturbance to trade.

But was Mr. Chamberlain repudiating the economic axioms? After the first shock of amazement it appeared that he was not doing so. The proposition he was at this time making was one which had the sanction of Adam Smith himself, that a political gain might be worth an economic sacrifice. If at some economic cost the colonies would really be drawn closer to the mother country, the might and majesty of the empire would be increased, and the sacrifice would be worth while. Liberals and Conservatives alike began to reconsider the question. A few enthusiastic Imperialists in the Liberal ranks became whole-hearted converts; Conservatives who had always nursed a secret belief in Protection required no conversion. But in a very short time a ground for doubting Mr. Chamberlain's theory of the effect of preferential tariffs revealed itself. The goods which the colonies had to send us, the goods which would have made the offer of a preferential tariff of any use to them, were practically all foodstuffs or raw materials. Preferential tariffs, as Mr. Chamberlain himself declared, were almost meaningless unless they included taxes on foodstuffs. Taxes on foodstuffs would raise the cost of living. They might increase the loyalty of the colonies which would profit by the preference, but they would not increase the goodwill of the British working-man towards the colonies for whose benefit he was being invited to pay more for his food. Preferences, then, would not in fact draw the bonds tighter; the economic sacrifice would be made without achieving the political gain. With a unanimity almost complete Liberals repudiated the one argument which had in the first instance been put forward as a reason for a new fiscal policy, and they settled down to fight the new idea on the plain economic ground that taxes on foodstuffs would increase the cost of living and that taxes on raw material would increase the cost of production to British manufacturers. Imperial free trade with a tariff against the foreigner was a

Colonial preference and food taxes.

The Liberal rally.

mere illusion—the Dominions would have nothing to say to it. Preference was after all only Protection in disguise. Numbers of Liberal Unionists and Conservatives took the same view.

It was not long before the fiscal reformers were directly attacking Free Trade doctrines. Mr. Chamberlain countered the argument that the cost of living for the working classes would be increased, by the argument that the revenue derived from the tariff would enable the government to carry out the scheme which he had always advocated of providing old age pensions. Mr. Balfour gave out that he had no settled convictions on the subject and that inquiry was desirable. At the same time he hinted that tariffs might usefully be imposed as a means to bargaining with other countries for the reduction of tariffs on British goods. This was followed by another argument which had been adopted by the Fair Traders—that as a matter of fact tariffs would not increase prices; we should 'make the foreigner pay'; he would lower his prices in order to retain his position in the British market. Finally the fiscal reformers took up the position of unqualified Protectionism, demanding the imposition of tariffs in order to save British industries from imminent annihilation at the hands of foreign competitors.

Extension of the fiscal reform programme.

To every one of these propositions the Liberals presented a unanimous and uncompromising resistance. If a fresh source of revenue was to be found for providing old age pensions, it should not be at the cost of taxing the food of the people. Retaliation was false policy altogether; no state ever succeeds in making another lower its tariffs by imposing tariffs in return. It was not true, again, that the foreign producer instead of the British consumer would pay; competition already induced him to supply his goods at the lowest prices profitable to himself. Moreover, the fiscal reformers must take their choice between that argument and the argument that tariffs would protect British industries. If the foreigner paid, his goods would come in as before, would be purchased at the same price as before, and would compete with British products as before. Liberals declined to believe that the

Hardening of Free Traders.

adversary himself believed in making the foreigner pay — the cry was a mere trick to deceive simple-minded electors. As for the avowed demand for Protection, the trades which clamoured for it most loudly were at the same time engaged in attempts to persuade the investing public that trade was really flourishing. Mr. Chamberlain might enumerate the trades which were tottering to ruin, but his case depended on a careful but entirely misleading selection of the years for which he ventured to give figures. There happened to be depression at the moment, but it would pass. It was pretended that Protection would restore British industries and would do away with unemployment, but Protection, applied to actual raw materials or to the partly manufactured goods which form the raw material of other industries, would increase the cost of production in the last group and diminish instead of increasing employment, besides generally increasing the cost of living to the wage earner.

The melting pot.

The battle raged. There were numbers of Free Traders among the Unionists as stout as any Liberals; they fastened primarily upon the food taxes for denunciation — food taxes were something so tangible that they would appeal to minds which could not follow high economic arguments. Before the end of the year the Free Traders in the cabinet, including the duke of Devonshire and the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Ritchie, resigned; yet the first resignation in Mr. Balfour's hands had been that of Mr. Chamberlain, who wanted to be unmuzzled for the free preaching of his own doctrines without embarrassing his colleagues. The circumstances made it appear that Mr. Balfour had aimed at keeping the duke of Devonshire in the cabinet, but had purposely allowed the other Free Traders to resign without letting them know that Mr. Chamberlain had already done so. In fact it would seem that Mr. Balfour's great desire was to maintain the attitude of suspended judgment in the cabinet while encouraging the expectation that he hoped to find a solution in some system of imposing tariffs upon imports which would provide revenue and gratify the colonies without increasing the cost of living. It was curious to observe throughout the whole contro-

versy that every utterance of Mr. Balfour's on the subject was hailed by every individual section of his party, from the free fooders to the extreme Protectionists, as an unqualified pronouncement in favour of the views of that particular section. The duke of Devonshire, however, from the moment when he had arrived at the conclusion that the principle of Free Trade was actually at stake was so emphatically in opposition that, in view of a possible general election, he advised Unionist Free Traders to refuse their votes to any Protectionist candidate. Mr. Chamberlain continued to flood the country with oratory, while Mr. Asquith took upon himself the weighty task of following in his wake and hammering home the Free Trader answers to his arguments.

By-elections showed a striking tendency to substitute Free Trade majorities for Unionist majorities; but Mr. Balfour was impervious to by-elections. While the ranks of the Free Traders were closing up, the government introduced a Licensing Bill which still further united the Opposition, while it was not very satisfactory to the licensed trade. In the eyes of the law there was no vested interest in a licensed house. The licence required to be renewed annually, and magistrates could refuse a renewal at their discretion. In practice, on the other hand, it was assumed that the proprietors had a moral claim to renewal unless their houses were badly conducted. The public at large, while by no means willing to be deprived of a sufficiency of public houses, had an uneasy feeling that there were far too many, and that their numbers might legitimately be greatly reduced. Magistrates were displaying a tendency to refuse licences on the ground not only of misconduct but of superfluity. The government bill proposed to create a compensation fund in each quarter-sessions area, drawn from the trade, from which compensation was to be paid to the proprietors the renewals of whose licences were refused, except for misconduct. Licences could not then be refused beyond the point at which the fund provided adequate compensation, based on the assumption that the licence was an actual property with a recognised value. But no property was

1904. A Licensing Bill.

to be recognised in licences granted for the first time after the passing of the bill.

The licensing battle.

Now the extreme temperance reformers took their stand on the letter of the law. The law recognised no property in a licence. Nothing whatever should be done to check the unlimited discretion of magistrates to refuse licences, or to warrant public house proprietors in claiming a right to compensation. The general public, on the other hand, felt that a great deal of money had been invested in public houses in the reasonable expectation that licences would be continuously renewed. It was fair that the existing licence-holders should have reasonable compensation if their reasonable expectation was set at naught without any misconduct on their part. But the case would be fairly met if, instead of making the interest in the licence permanent or denying its existence altogether, the law set a time limit to that interest and declared that after a certain number of years licences should no longer be regarded as property at all. Some were stringent enough to demand a seven years' limit, others generous enough to propose a twenty-one years' limit, others would have split the difference with a fourteen years' limit. Acceptance by the government of the twenty-one years' limit would probably have put an end to serious opposition; but the government refused the time limit, and though they carried their bill it cost them the support of many moderate men who objected to the creation by law of a permanent vested interest where by law no vested interest at all was actually in existence.

Chinese labour.

In another quarter of the empire trouble was brewing for the government. The mine owners in the Transvaal wanted labour for the mines; but the supply of Kaffir labour was unsatisfactory and white labour did not suit them. In 1903 they were developing a demand for the introduction of Chinese labour. Chinese labour could only be employed under conditions which to the white man savoured of slavery, by hiring Chinese coolies under exceedingly stringent indentures. The law authorising these indentures received the sanction of the imperial government, and before long the

government was charged with having introduced a repulsive system of slavery into a British colony in order to satisfy the wholly unwarrantable demand of the wealthy mine owners.

In India an expedition to Tibet, a country hitherto wrapped in mystery, created some temporary interest. The result was a treaty under which Tibet engaged to make no concessions to other foreign powers, or to receive agents from them, without the consent of the British. The motive of this provision was a suspicion that Russian influence was extending into that quarter. **Tibet.**

A new excitement was provided towards the close of the year by a very singular incident. The great struggle between Russia and Japan had opened, and a Russian squadron was dispatched from the Baltic on its way to the East. While passing through the North Sea, Russian warships opened fire upon the Hull fishing fleet. The Russian government was as much taken aback by this extraordinary action as the British public were infuriated. A British squadron would have been dispatched in pursuit of the Russian squadron if Russia had not promptly apologised, paid compensation, detained the ships responsible for the outrage at Vigo, and agreed to an inquiry by an international commission. On the inquiry it came out that the Russian commanders had been obsessed by a conviction that Japanese torpedo boats were looking out for them and that they had sighted some of these imaginary enemies among the Hull fishing fleet. **North Sea incident.**

During 1905 Mr. Balfour was clinging to his position of suspended judgment, and apparently took the view that if the country was generally disposed to a revision of tariff arrangements the best step would be to hold a colonial conference with a view to a general agreement as to a common financial policy. But to the country at large Mr. Balfour appeared to be painfully indefinite, and the impression that the cabinet was living too much in a state of 'suspended judgment' was increased when the Unionist Lord Dunraven made a pronouncement in favour **1905. Devolution and Mr. Wyndham.**

of 'devolution,' which seemed hardly distinguishable from Home Rule, and the chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Wyndham, appeared to have committed himself to the same policy. The members of the Unionist party who were Unionists before everything else took alarm, and in March Mr. Wyndham found it necessary to resign. Ostensibly he had committed himself more deeply than the views of the cabinet warranted; but there was an uneasy feeling that the government would have been ready to back him up but for the signs of resentment among their own supporters—that in fact he had been merely made a scapegoat.

Lord Curzon and Bengal.

In India the unusual step had been taken of extending Lord Curzon's viceroyalty over a second term. No one questioned his vigour, audacity, and ability; there are critics who have called him the greatest of Indian viceroys except Dalhousie—a form of praise which at least suggests the special qualities he displayed. According to another view he was not sufficiently alive to the primary importance of tranquillity. In 1905 he carried out a measure which created an extraordinary excitement in India, the partition of Bengal. In Britain it seemed that the division of one province into two was a mere matter of administrative convenience; but in the eyes of a large class of Bengali Hindus it constituted a very serious grievance, which was shortly to be used as a basis for systematic attacks upon the Indian government by that portion of the native community; with whom it is to be observed that the Mohammedans were by no means in sympathy.

The viceroy and Lord Kitchener.

But if the British public paid no heed to the partition of Bengal it became keenly interested in the fact that there was apparently no room in India for both Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, who had gone there as commander-in-chief when his work in South Africa was over. Lord Kitchener had set about a military reorganisation; but he found himself hampered by a system of dual control under which technically the adviser of the government on military matters was not the commander-in-chief but the

military member of council. In Lord Curzon's view if the commander-in-chief became the sole adviser he would in effect be a military dictator. In Lord Kitchener's view there was no use for a commander-in-chief if he was in effect merely a subordinate of the military member of the council.

The matter was referred to the home government, which decided that on purely military matters the commander in-chief should himself be the adviser of the government. The place of the military member of council was to be taken by a 'Military Supply' member, whose opinion on purely military matters the viceroy might take if he chose; but advice on strictly military questions was not to be his function. It would be clearly advisable that special administrative knowledge and experience not of a military character should be a primary qualification. If the appointment were held by a man who was conspicuously and essentially a soldier pure and simple, the old friction was certain to arise again. Obviously the then military member would have to retire; the viceroy was invited to propose his successor, and he proceeded to nominate another soldier of the same type. The home government rejected the nomination; practically its acceptance would have involved the resignation of Lord Kitchener. Lord Curzon declared that unless his nominee were accepted he would himself resign. The government refused to yield, Lord Curzon resigned, and Lord Minto, the second viceroy of that name, was appointed to succeed him. On the abstract question of the relations which ought to subsist between a viceroy and his commander-in-chief the opinions of experts might differ; but on the concrete question of choosing between the resignation of Lord Kitchener and the resignation of Lord Curzon, there was not much room for doubt in the mind of the government. The British public did not feel at all sure of Lord Curzon and it did feel quite sure of Lord Kitchener. Still there was a vague feeling that the government ought by some means or another to have avoided the dilemma.

Action of the government.

In foreign relations one conspicuous change had taken place. At the end of the Boer War the attitude of every European

power to the British was one of hardly-veiled hostility. Since that time, however, the main causes of friction with France had been removed by an adjustment of claims. Regarding the main point, as far as the two powers were concerned, France would leave the British a free hand in Egypt and Britain would leave the French a free hand in Morocco. A spirit of mutual accommodation and friendliness grew up between the two nations embodied in the phrase, *entente cordiale*, which incidentally did not tend to diminish German suspicions of British policy. But the *entente* in itself implied a great improvement on the earlier position. Unfortunately, however, for the government, very little credit for it was popularly conceded to the foreign secretary, Lord Lansdowne; the world, not without considerable justification, attributed it to the personal influence and diplomatic skill of King Edward VII., who, on paying a visit to Paris, had achieved a very remarkable popularity, although the direct political activities with which he was credited were probably for the most part, if not altogether, mythical.

Rapprochement with France.

Mr. Balfour, it would seem, clung to the hope that the obvious disintegration among the Unionists would be healed by time—that their differences could be adjusted before a general election should become imperative. He ignored by-elections and dwindling majorities in the House; even an actual defeat of the government in a House of about four hundred members in July did not induce him to resign. But as the autumn advanced, Mr. Chamberlain made it quite clear that he and his followers intended to make Tariff Reform the definite issue. Nothing could have suited the Liberals better, for it was a question on which they were absolutely unanimous. The best chance for the government seemed to be to seek an opportunity of reviving or forcing into prominence the other differences between sections of the Liberal party, but nothing of the kind was effected.

Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain.

By December it had become impossible to believe that anything could be gained by continuing in office, and on 4th December Mr. Balfour, instead of appealing to the country,

resigned. Any hopes he may have had that the Liberal groups would refuse to work together under Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman were promptly dispelled. Sir Henry formed a cabinet at once in which the ablest of the 'pro-Boers' and the ablest of the Liberal Imperialists were joined together. As soon as Sir Henry had framed his ministry, without any sign of friction—Lord Rosebery of course had not joined him, assuming only an attitude of benevolent approval—parliament was dissolved. The Liberal leaders made it indisputably clear that for this election at least Home Rule was not to be an issue. The issue before the country was what Mr. Chamberlain had made it, Free Trade *versus* Tariff Reform—exemplified on Liberal posters by pictures of the big Free Trade loaf and the little Protectionist loaf. Much play was also made with denunciations of the system of Chinese labour in the Transvaal. The Unionists could no longer make effective appeal to the patriotism of electors, as they had done in 1900, when immense numbers of Liberal voters had stayed away from the polls; there was no war now in progress, and the revelations of the commissions of inquiry into the management of the war had been extremely damaging to the reputation of the Unionist government for intelligence and efficiency. The party, in fact, was placed entirely on the defensive, except in respect of its one war cry of Tariff Reform; and no one was at all clear how much or how little Tariff Reform might mean. All recent by-elections pointed to the probability of a Liberal victory, but the actual results went far beyond the wildest hopes or the worst fears of either party. The Unionists mustered only 157 all told; there were 83 Irish Nationalists, 51 Labour members (a number sufficient to enable them to organise as a separate party), and 397 Liberals, a majority of 88 over Unionists, Nationalists, and Labour members together. In fact the term Unionist was for the time being a misnomer; for great numbers of Unionist Free Traders had unquestionably cast their votes for the Liberals as a consequence of the declaration that Home Rule was entirely outside the immediate parliamentary pro-

Resignation and a Liberal ministry, December.

1906. The general election, January.

gramme. The most sanguine of the Tariff reformers could only find consolation in declaring that misrepresentations about Chinese labour were the real cause of the defeat, or at least of its overwhelming character, and that two bad winters would make the working-man a zealous tariff-reformer.

II. The Liberals in Office, 1906-1910

The Liberal victory.

At the beginning of 1906 the Liberal party returned to office after exclusion from power for a period of twenty years. There had, indeed, been Liberal governments during the first six months of 1886 and during three years from 1892 to 1895; but only one Liberal measure of any importance, Sir William Harcourt's death duties, had become incorporated in the law of the land. The six months in 1886 had sufficed to break up the party in the House of Commons as well as in the country; the House of Lords had declined to recognise the composite majority who supported ministers in the last Liberal administration as representing the national will, and the election of 1895 had effectively endorsed their action. The Liberals now had an unprecedented majority, since in practically everything except education they were secure of the support of the Irish Nationalists and of the Labour party; and the regular Opposition numbered less than a quarter of the House of Commons. They were debarred by their own pledges from immediately taking up again the question which had formerly held the leading place in their programme.

Attitude of the Opposition.

But in the view of the Opposition the election had been fought on two questions only, Tariff Reform and Chinese labour, and it was only on those two questions that the Liberals could claim to represent the will of the nation. The House of Lords in effect reverted to the attitude which it had adopted when a Liberal ministry could only retain office so long as the Irish Nationalists voted with them—when they formed a minority of the whole House exclusive of the members from Ireland; although they now formed by themselves a large majority of the House even when all the

members from Ireland were not merely excluded but were reckoned in the Opposition. The Lords judged each bill on its merits and accepted, rejected, or emasculated it as appeared to them to be politic in the particular case.

The cabinet showed no signs of the disintegration which in some quarters might have been anticipated. In 1906 it adopted a bill in effect restoring the law with regard to trades unions to what it had been always understood to be before the Taff Vale judgment. The funds of the unions ceased to be liable in respect of strikes. The unions could no longer be sued as corporate bodies. The bill was accepted by the Peers.

The Trades Unions Act.

Then came a bill to abolish plural voting, prohibiting one person from recording a vote in more than one constituency. The Opposition regarded 'one man one vote' as a purely party measure, intended merely to reduce the number of votes cast for the Unionists, the great majority of plural voters being notoriously members of that party. It was also laid down that such a change should not be made unless accompanied by a measure of redistribution, on the principle of 'one vote one value'; to which it was replied that 'one vote one value' was advocated merely as a partisan measure, with the object of reducing the number of members sent from Ireland. The bill was rejected by the Lords.

The Plural Voting Bill.

The third contentious bill of the session was the Education Bill, introduced to remedy the Nonconformist grievance for which the Unionist Education Act was responsible. Denominational schools were not to be supported out of the rates. If the voluntary contributions were not sufficient for their proper maintenance, the local authority was to be enabled to take the schools over. When they passed under the control of the local authority their denominational atmosphere would vanish; the teachers were to be appointed without being subjected to any religious tests; denominational religious instruction was to be given only under special circumstances. The whole cost of maintenance was to be provided out of public funds, but the owners of the buildings

The first Education Bill.

would retain the use of them out of school hours. Only where the parents of four-fifths of the children attending so desired, special facilities were to be provided for denominational teaching. In the remote past Nonconformists had objected to the control by local authorities, in the days when local authorities were nearly always Anglican. Now Anglicans and Roman Catholics were thoroughly convinced that local educational authorities were always on the side of Nonconformity. Nonconformists accepted the bill as a compromise; the Anglican clergy regarded it as an attack upon the Church. The bill was passed in the Commons, was amended by the Lords past all possibility of its being accepted by Nonconformists, and was then withdrawn.

South Africa.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, as concerned the Chinese labour question, the government contented itself with suspending Chinese immigration. The cabinet, however, had resolved upon the bold step of at once putting an end to the treatment of the two Boer provinces as Crown colonies, and of giving them full responsible government. By this concession it was confidently believed that our late enemies would be transformed into loyal citizens of the empire. This policy was alarming to those who regarded the Boers as inherently hostile to British ascendency. The Opposition was led by Lord Milner, whose place as high commissioner had been taken by Lord Selborne before the fall of the Unionist government; and Mr. Balfour declared that the Unionist party declined all responsibility for so rash an experiment. Nevertheless the Government proceeded on its course; complete self-government was granted to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. There was no possibility in 1906 that the Boers would attribute the concession to fear, as they had done in 1881. In spite of dubious prognostications, the complete success of the experiment was to be demonstrated by the unqualified loyalty of united South Africa in the crisis of 1914.

In 1907 Mr. Asquith, as chancellor of the exchequer, at last avowed openly that the income tax was to be regarded no longer as a temporary impost but as a leading and permanent

source of revenue. This being recognised it was also time to set about dealing with the inequities of its incidence. A distinction was to be made in future between incomes which were earned and those which were unearned; the latter were to pay income tax at a higher rate than the former. Mr. Asquith at the same time advanced along the lines laid down by Sir William Harcourt in 1894 and increased the death duties on large estates. The principle was definitely recognised that the wealthy could afford to pay to the treasury a larger proportion of their wealth than their poorer neighbours.

1907. Mr. Asquith's budget.

The South African War had emphasised the need of army reorganisation, and the efforts of the Unionist government in that direction had not been crowned with any striking success, although a sound step had been taken in the constitution of a special expert council of defence. The war minister, Mr. Haldane, now introduced a measure which in its main principle might be taken as representing the last word of a military system based upon voluntary enlistment. Military opinion generally, with Lord Roberts at its head, held that no possible voluntary system could be adequate; that no army could be brought into the field fit to face the huge trained legions of any continental state. But the problem was not that of raising a great army for foreign service. No one who talked of compulsory service would admit that he meant by that compulsory service beyond the seas. The question was that of providing an army competent to defend the British islands from an invader when the regular army should be on foreign service. In the judgment of the experts it would not be possible for any foreign power, until the British fleet should be placed entirely out of action, to land more than seventy-five thousand men on the shores of Great Britain. What was required then was to provide, for home defence only, a militia competent to deal so drastically and conclusively with an invading force of seventy-five thousand men as to convince any foreign power that the landing of such an army could only be disastrous to itself. It may be said of Mr. Haldane's scheme

Mr. Haldane's army scheme.

that it was in the opinion of all experts calculated to place the regular army in a much higher state of efficiency and readiness than before, although complaint was made of certain numerical reductions, especially in relation to garrison artillery. For the construction of the new militia, known as the territorials, the existing bodies of militia, yeomanry, and volunteers were reorganised on a system which seemed to promise the maximum of efficiency obtainable under a purely voluntary system, without an intolerable expenditure. Apart from minor details, criticism of Mr. Haldane's system has mainly resolved itself into insistence on the impossibility of providing any army that can really be called adequate without compulsory service.

The Liberals and the Lords.

In the same session resolutions were formulated which pointed to the determination of the Liberals to deal in course of time with the powers and the constitution of the House of Lords. The action of that chamber in the previous session appeared to indicate that no Liberal majority in the House of Commons would be sufficient to convince the House of Lords that it represented the will of the nation. The resolutions declared that the power of the House of Lords ought to be so restricted as to ensure that the final decisions of the House of Commons should prevail within the course of a single parliament.

1908. A change of leadership.

Early in 1908 ill-health necessitated the retirement of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, who died almost immediately afterwards. His leadership in Opposition had not prepared the public or his party for the ability he displayed as prime minister. His tact and skill had in the first place brought together in one cabinet men whose views on many subjects had appeared to be hopelessly irreconcilable; having brought them together he went on to accomplish with astonishing success the task of reconciling them. They had worked under him with a harmony which had never been seriously threatened; but there were many doubts as to what would follow when Mr. Asquith took his place as prime minister. The new premier had been the recognised leader of the Imperialist wing of the party; the Radical wing suspected him of covert

Whiggery, and again it seemed possible that the party might be split up, although Mr. Lloyd George, an uncompromising democrat, whom enemies did not hesitate to stigmatise as a demagogue, took his place as chancellor of the exchequer. The change, however, was not carried out until after the introduction of the budget, which had been framed by Mr. Asquith himself.

The change in the premiership brought with it no change of policy. The government programme opened with a scheme for providing old age pensions, allotting them to every one, subject to certain specified exceptions, who was over seventy years of age and was not actually in possession of so much as ten shillings a week. Mr. Chamberlain had been advocating old age pensions for twenty years past; one of the arguments with which he sought to popularise Tariff Reform was, that it would provide revenue sufficient to make old age pensions possible; but though the advocacy of such pensions had figured in Unionist speeches and election addresses, the Unionist government had never found itself provided with sufficient funds to give material effect to the scheme. The measure, therefore, could hardly be treated as controversial; all that could be said against it officially was, either that it did not go far enough or that the money was more urgently wanted for other purposes.

Old age pensions.

The government again returned to the attack on the education question—again without success. The object was to find a solution which should satisfy both Nonconformists and advocates of denominational education, and so should clear on one side a question which to the bulk of the general public was merely irritating. Most people, roughly speaking, considered that it was a matter of very little moment whether children were or were not taught the Church catechism in the schools, whether they were or were not given a bias in favour of Anglicanism or of Nonconformity, provided that they had some sort of religious education; but on both sides there were considerable numbers of earnest people who regarded the question as vital, and whose views it was not practically possible to

Second Education Bill.

reconcile. When it became finally clear that no settlement could be arrived at which would be regarded as tolerable by both sides the bill was again withdrawn.

The Licensing Bill.

Even fiercer was the controversy over the Licensing Bill. Temperance reformers considered that the Unionist Licensing Act had been far too favourable to the licence-holders and acted as a check on the reduction of the number of superfluous licences. The government bill provided for the compulsory annual reduction of the number of licensed houses all over the country, within a fixed period, to the number reckoned as sufficient to meet the legitimate needs of the population, according to its density. In fourteen years one-third of the licensed houses would lose their licences. During this period compensation was to be paid for the loss of a licence, according to the number of years remaining before the time limit arrived. The trade itself was to provide the funds for compensation—on the hypothesis that the houses which retained their licences would derive increased profits from the extinction of their neighbours.

The battle of the bill.

The bill was at once denounced as a vindictive attack on a legitimate trade, that would bring ruin upon the large numbers of small shareholders in the breweries which owned a great proportion of the licensed houses. The diminution in the number of licensed houses would not, it was said, reduce drunkenness but would merely lead to a great increase of private drinking, especially in clubs. The Government, on the other hand, claimed that if they erred it was on the side of generosity. For twenty years past, it was urged, every purchaser of public-house property had known that if the Liberal party came into power it would refuse to recognise that there was any sort of claim to a renewal of licenses; nevertheless they were being allowed fourteen years to set their houses in order before the extinction of licences would be carried out without compensation. There was no more reason for protecting shareholders who found that the profits of a brewery business were exhausted than for protecting investors in mines who found that the product of the mines was

exhausted. The bill was passed in the Commons, but again the House of Lords stepped in, declared that there was no warrant for believing that the country desired the bill, and threw it out on the second reading. The Lords undoubtedly acted on the belief then extremely prevalent among the Opposition that a general election would place the Unionists in power with a substantial majority. By-elections had been going against the Government, in some cases very heavily; it was not realised that this meant only that the actual Liberal majority had been accidental, and that the percentage of change shown scarcely pointed to a really decisive transfer of votes.

The Government, like its predecessor, refused to regard the loss of seats at by-elections as a reason for appealing to the country, so long as it still enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. It refused to admit that the House of Lords had any right to force a dissolution; and in 1909 its programme was more definitely aggressive than before. The first excitement arose over the announcement of the government's naval programme. The first months of 1906 had witnessed the launching of the *Dreadnought*, a vast battleship of a new design. In 1907 the government had enunciated the principle of maintaining a fleet equal in strength to the combined fleets of any two powers which might conceivably be united against us, with a small margin for safety. But the *Dreadnought* had created a new situation. Germany had started upon a 'Dreadnought' programme. It appeared that the greater power of the *Dreadnought* as compared with ships of the pre-Dreadnought type meant that the comparative strength of rival fleets in line of battleships meant comparative strength in Dreadnoughts, making illusory the immense lead hitherto held by the British fleet in ships of the earlier type. If Dreadnoughts were built for Germany as rapidly as for Britain, the preservation of a two-power standard would become a matter of immense difficulty. The government shipbuilding programme had been based on the assumption that a British Dreadnought could be built in two-thirds of the time required by the German yards.

1909. The naval programme.

Dreadnought.

This assumption was found to be erroneous; and the naval estimates demanded that provision should be made for laying down four Dreadnoughts at once, and four more if necessary. The demand was a shock to Liberal economists, but on the whole they recognised it as a painful necessity. From the Opposition, on the other hand, there arose an immediate demand that the four contingent Dreadnoughts should be laid down at once, a cry that any delay was mere gambling with the national safety. The government, however, held to its view that while national safety forbade it to reduce its demands, those demands were sufficient.

The 1909 budget.

But the real development of the situation came with the chancellor of the exchequer's budget statement. The Liberals were determined to maintain the principle of meeting expenditure out of revenue and at the same time of reducing the national debt out of revenue. An immense and obviously growing expenditure was needed for national defence. The treasury had just burdened itself with old age pensions, and there was a crying need for further social reforms, which would also entail heavy expenditure. The Unionists had found it difficult enough to meet the normal outlay; it was palpable that some fresh source of revenue must be tapped. The Unionists claimed to have discovered it in Tariff Reform, but the Liberals had denounced Tariff Reform root and branch. Mr. Lloyd George then must show that the money could be raised without taxing imports. To begin with, therefore, there was to be an extension of the principle of Mr. Asquith's budget of 1907; wealth was to contribute in a larger proportion than before; a 'super-tax' was to be imposed on incomes over £5000 a year, and the death duties were to be increased. On the other hand the working classes must realise that they must pay their share; upon them mainly would fall the burden of an increased duty upon tobacco and spirits. The licensed trade had rejected with contumely the generous proposals of the Government Licensing Bill; the object of that bill would be partly attained by a tax on the annual value of licences, which would bring in a material

The super-tax.

Licences.

contribution to the treasury. But the really novel feature of the budget was a tax of twenty per cent. to be levied on the 'unearned increment' of land values, that is to say, on increased value in land due to accident, to external circumstances, not to improvements made by the proprietors. While agricultural land was exempted, a duty of a halfpenny in the pound was also to be charged on undeveloped land, of which the site value exceeded £50 an acre. The new land taxes would involve a general revaluation.

Unearned increment of land.

The budget was vehemently attacked on all sides. The supertax was a piece of pure class legislation, an attack upon wealth, which would drive capital out of the country and would compel the rich to curtail their expenditure, and especially their employment of labour. The tax on licences was mere vindictiveness, grossly unfair to the licensed trade. If unearned increment was to be taxed at all, why should land be singled out? It was not only land holders who derived profit from unearned increment. The revaluation of the land would be enormously costly; land holders were to be compelled to devote an enormous amount of labour to supply information under an iniquitous inquisition. Finally, the whole thing was really the work of a demagogue, who was exciting class hostilities by a bitter attack upon every one who owned land, as an enemy of the people; it was based on the principle of robbing the rich for the benefit of the proletariat, of course because the proletariat formed the majority of the electorate.

The Finance Bill was approved by the Liberal party, and consequently passed the House of Commons successfully. It was admitted on all hands that the peers could not amend it; it had never been disputed that in rejecting it they would be within their technical constitutional rights. But if they did so they would be throwing down a direct challenge. There was in fact no precedent for their rejection of a budget; the precedent having been set, they would always in future be able to force a general election at pleasure by rejecting the financial proposals for the year. If on a dissolution the Liberals should again be returned to power,

The Lords reject the Finance Bill.

the whole question of the constitutional position of the House of Lords would necessarily at once be brought to an issue. The more cautious Unionists were not anxious to face that issue; the less cautious decided that the Lords must take their stand now once for all. Their counsels prevailed, and the Finance Bill was thrown out by the Lords.

Ministers accepted the challenge and appealed to the country; Mr. Asquith made an emphatic declaration that no Liberal government could hold office in the future until the House of Lords should be entirely deprived of any power to touch a finance bill, or to prevent the expressed will of the House of Commons from becoming law within the period of a single parliament. The election was fought in January 1910. The issues were plainly two. The country had to choose between Mr. Lloyd George's finance and Tariff Reform, and at the same time to decide whether the powers of the House of Lords were to be curtailed or not. The Unionists who had anticipated an overwhelming ministerial rout were grievously disappointed. Although numbers of Free Traders, having before them what they accounted a choice of evils, reckoned Tariff Reform less ruinous than 'Lloyd George finance' and voted for the Unionists, the result of the election showed that the official Liberals were still in numbers just ahead of the whole Unionist party; and on the question at issue they could count on the support of the Labour party and of the Irish Nationalists.

1910. A general election, January.

The country, then, had given its decision in favour of the budget and of the reform of the House of Lords. Liberal stalwarts were disposed to assume that the constitutional question was to come first; that Mr. Asquith had already obtained from the king a guarantee that if called upon he would create a sufficient number of peers to force through the Lords any Peerage Bill carried in the House of Commons. When it was found that the Government intended to carry the budget first and to formulate its proposal for the House of Lords reform before obtaining the king's guarantee, there was a good deal of excited and angry comment. Ministers,

The budget first.

however, were of opinion in the first place that 'the king's government must be carried on,' for which purpose it was absolutely necessary that the Finance Bill should become law, and, secondly, that the plan of constitutional reform should be declared before the king could be asked to give his guarantee.

The constitutional crisis.

Ever since 1884 there had been a consciousness that the time was approaching when the position of the hereditary legislative chamber would be challenged, and also a general disinclination on the part of statesmen to hasten a crisis. Gladstone in his latter years had foreseen it but had felt himself too old to take upon his shoulders, already burdened with Home Rule, the burden of another constitutional struggle. Another excuse for shelving the question had been the sense that the queen ought to be left to end her reign before it should be dealt with. If the action of the peers had not laid them open to the almost unanswerable charge that they regarded themselves as an instrument for continuing political power in the hands of the Opposition whenever a Liberal ministry was in office, the question might have gone on being postponed. Whether the real throwing down of the glove was the introduction of the Liberal budget or its rejection, it was quite clear from the moment when the Lords resolved upon rejection that the constitutional issue could not again be deferred. The Liberals who imagined for a time that their leaders were irresolute were mistaken.

Death of King Edward VII., 7th May.

Among the Opposition a cry was raised that the Government was improperly throwing upon the king the responsibility of deciding what was to be done. Among extreme Radicals there was a disposition to hint that if the king should not endorse the will of the Commons the Crown and the Whigs might be swept away together. In the country generally the prevalent feeling was that the king's judgment could be relied upon, even that he might possibly be shrewd enough to discover some not too drastic method of solving the problem. But he was not destined to prove a *Deus ex machina*. His health for some time past had not been good.

Doubtless he felt the strain of the political crisis. On the morning of May 6th, the public was alarmed by the news that King Edward was seriously ill; before twenty-four hours had passed he was dead. The public had been taught to believe that he was a great statesman. It has been denied that he actually played the great part in international politics which was popularly attributed to him; but that his personal qualities won him a popularity outside England, which had a large influence in creating a new feeling of goodwill, especially in France, towards the nation over which he ruled is indisputable; and the title of King Edward the Peacemaker is one which will not be forgotten.

The government's position.

With the accession of King George v. it was more imperatively necessary than ever, from the point of view of ministers, that the demand for a reform of the House of Lords, definitely formulated at the moment before King Edward's death, should be endorsed by the electorate before the new king could be called upon to give the guarantee in the absence of which the Peers would be certain to reject any government bill. The immediate and essential question was not the reconstruction of the second chamber, but the curtailment of its powers. The air was full of schemes of reconstruction; most people had their own pet schemes, whether they were intended to make a strong independent House or to reduce the Chamber to the position of a merely advisory body. Public opinion was overwhelmingly opposed to its total abolition. The essential features of the Government's proposals were—that finance was to be withdrawn altogether from its control and that its veto was not to be permanent but suspensory. It was made clear that if the Government remained in power it would first carry its Parliament Bill and would then proceed with Liberal legislation, taking advantage of the fact that within a given limit of time, provided it was still in office, its measures would become law with or without the approval of the hereditary chamber.

At the end of the year parliament was dissolved. Lord Lansdowne announced that the prime minister had made per-

fectly clear his intention of proceeding with a Home Rule Bill. Mr. Redmond returned from America with large subscriptions collected for the advancement of Home Rule, and the Opposition press rang with denunciations of the 'dollar dictator,' whose orders Mr. Asquith was bound to obey. The electorate certainly had fair warning that if they voted for ministerialists they would be voting for Home Rule; but the warning came almost entirely from the Opposition. Liberal candidates for the most part gave nearly all their attention to the questions of the House of Lords, Tariff Reform, and the budget of 1909. The result of the election was virtually a repetition of that held in the previous January. The balance of parties was unaltered. In Great Britain, excluding Ireland altogether, the Liberal and Labour parties together outnumbered the Unionists by 60. If Home Rule was an issue, there was a Home Rule majority of 60 in Great Britain and of 60 in Ireland, although in England alone, counting Scotland and Wales as separate nationalities, there was a slight Unionist preponderance. As soon as the elections were over, the Liberals, who had talked very little about it, declared that it had been an issue, and the Unionists, who had talked about it a great deal, declared that it had not.

The general election, December.

There are other features of this period which must not be passed over. The *entente* with France was followed by an *entente* with Russia, France's ally, facilitated by the disastrous outcome of her war with Japan. It appeared that after all Russia's military power for aggression was not so tremendous as the Western nations had hitherto believed. It was at least highly improbable that she would attempt any great military ventures for a long time to come, and it was possible to discuss Asiatic problems without assuming that the overthrow of British dominion in India was her real objective. One definite outcome was an agreement with regard to spheres of influence in Persia, which met with at least as much approval as could be expected from any agreement involving some compromise of interests. It is curious to observe that whereas in

Russia.

the last century Liberals had been rather disposed to favour Russia because of their dislike of Turkish misrule, the most acute hostility to Russia, or rather the Russian government, was now displayed in England by the advanced Liberals, who saw in her the enemy not so much of British dominion as of domestic liberty and progress. It was not among the Jingoes but in this new quarter that opposition to any friendly dealings with the Russian government was displayed.

Jingoism had turned its eyes to Germany where the corresponding disease of Junkerism was rampant. A section of the press in each country was persistently doing its best to foster feelings of suspicion and animosity towards the other. The German was encouraged to believe that British statesmen were engaged in Machiavellian designs for the isolation of Germany; the British public was encouraged to believe that Germany was on the point of wiping the British fleet off the seas and invading England with irresistible armies; and in each country there was a very common belief that war sooner or later was inevitable. The truth was that Germany did mean war—but not yet; and sober British opinion, not wanting war at all, but resolved to be ready for it, was for the most part unable to credit the amazing fact that the monstrous dream of Junkerism was actually the serious ambition of the entire ruling class in Germany.

The Dominions.

Since the beginning of the century the term Colony had fallen out of favour, at least as applied to the self-governing dominions. The name Dominion was displacing it for general use. Officially, however, the title had first been given to the Dominion of Canada, and in 1907 New Zealand also received it as an official designation. The development of democracy in Australasia was marked by the growth of a labour party, which in 1910 acquired an actual majority in both Houses of the Commonwealth parliament. It is to be noted that in 1909 the Commonwealth offered a Dreadnought to the imperial government, following upon New Zealand's offer of 'one battleship, and two if necessary.' Canada, on the other hand, at this time, under the leadership of Sir Wilfred Laurier, preferred to organise a defence

fleet of her own. In South Africa the grant of responsible government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was followed up by a movement for unification, which resulted in the Union of South Africa, embracing Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal. Rhodesia remained outside the federation, which was established in 1910.

The appointment of Mr. John Morley to the India Office in 1906 was received with some nervousness. He was very generally regarded as a somewhat doctrinaire states- **India.** man, more disposed to judge facts in the light of preconceived theories than to shape his theories in accordance with facts. It was feared accordingly that his democratic bias would prevent him from realising that the conditions of government in India are not the conditions of government in Europe. In fact, however, Mr. Morley worked in complete accord with the governor-general, Lord Minto, whom the Unionist government had sent out in succession to Lord Curzon. When the anti-British agitation, starting from the partition of Bengal, developed distinctly seditious forms in the native press, the government in 1908 took a firm course, which was denounced on the one hand as being dangerously lenient, and on the other as monstrously tyrannical and arbitrary. No one could claim that the repressive measures adopted put an end to subterranean seditious agitation ; but the open propaganda and the accompanying outrages were checked. On the other hand, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 admitted a much larger number of elected native representatives on the provincial legislative councils, and established the principle that one of the six members of the viceroy's executive council should be a native of India. The feeling of unrest was not removed by these measures, but it can safely be said that the appearance of acute crisis which marked the year 1908 has not again recurred ; while the European crisis of 1914 produced in India an outburst of spontaneous loyalty as astonishing to Europe as it was welcome to the empire ; in part, at least, attributed by many to an unprecedented event, the personal visit of the king and queen to India in 1911.

These years were marked by a greatly increased activity in

the demand for women's suffrage. In 1867 when women's suffrage was advocated by the gravest of political philosophers, John Stuart Mill, the suggestion was regarded as a contribution to national gaiety, and especially to masculine merriment. In 1884 the subject was beginning to claim more serious attention; it was not easy to see why, at least, educated women should be less capable of exercising an intelligent vote than the agricultural labourer. Still there were few people who were as yet prepared to regard the question as one of practical politics. In the closing years of the nineteenth century came developments of local self-government, when women ratepayers were permitted to vote in the elections of local authorities, and were even themselves being made eligible. Prominent politicians in both parties began to profess adherence to the doctrine that there was no inherent reason why women should not have the franchise. But still the matter did not appear to be urgent, certainly not of sufficient urgency to be taken up as a new line of party division. Neither before nor after the 1906 general election could either political party have constructed a cabinet committed to women's suffrage without excluding from it leaders of the highest ability, and alienating a substantial proportion of followers; while agreement upon the particular question was compatible with the most determined opposition to Tariff Reform, Home Rule, large armaments, the taxation of land values, or any other item in the programme of either party. Briefly, it was not practicable to make the matter a party question, because the only party which as a party supported women's suffrage was the Labour party.

The women's suffrage movement.

After the election of 1906 majorities of the House of Commons were disposed to express a vague academic approbation of the principle, though with large divergencies of opinions as to the proper limits of its application. When the Liberal government refused to identify itself with the movement, while leaving its followers free to vote as they pleased on abstract resolutions or private bills, a section of the women who were most eager on the subject

The movement becomes aggressive.

began to devote themselves to a much more vehement agitation; which certainly had the effect of forcing the question upon public attention, while the methods adopted, such as endeavours to thrust themselves into the precincts of the House, involving collisions with the police, were somewhat lacking in dignity. Opinions differed as to the tactical wisdom of the women suffragists in attacking the Liberal party, of which a comparatively large proportion favoured their claims. Opinions differed also as to the extent to which that party suffered in consequence of the attack. But immediately after the second general election of 1910 it appeared by no means improbable that some bill would be carried in the House of Commons admitting women to the franchise, though the Lords might remain obdurate.

III. Epilogue: 1911-1914

The Parliament Bill produced by the government in 1911 embodied the proposals which had been formulated in the previous year. A Finance Bill passed by the House of Commons was to become law, whether the Lords rejected it or not. Any other bill passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, whether a general election intervened or not, was to become law, whether the House of Lords rejected it or not. The Parliament Bill dealt with the House of Commons, only by reducing the period of its life from seven years to five, and with the House of Lords only by the definite curtailment of its powers. It made no provision for a reconstruction of the hereditary chamber, but the preamble contained a declaration that such a reconstruction was required. It was made known that the king had agreed, in the event of the rejection of the bill by the Lords, to create a sufficient number of peers to ensure the bill passing. Many of the peers were nevertheless in favour of rejecting the bill and throwing upon the Government the onus of entirely destroying the character of the peerage; but the counsels of moderation prevailed, and ultimately the peers preferred acceptance of

The Parliament Act.

the bill—which could not possibly be prevented from becoming law—to the swamping of the peerage by the creation of an enormous number of new peers.

The Opposition and the preamble.

When it became known, however, that the Government had no intention of proceeding at once with the scheme of reconstruction promised in the preamble; that they proposed to carry out plans of legislation which, if passed in the Commons, would automatically become law in the third year, and intended to introduce their reconstruction scheme at their own convenience; the Opposition was filled with indignation at what it called a breach of faith, and claimed thenceforward that the constitution was in suspense, and in effect that any measures passed under the Parliament Act in spite of rejection by the Lords were to be accounted unconstitutional, and were to be so treated as soon as the Unionists returned to power.

National insurance.

The second great measure of the year was Mr. Lloyd George's scheme for national insurance. That a scheme of national insurance was desirable was admitted on all hands; that any specific scheme of national insurance would be open to vehement attack was equally a matter of certainty. There were three leading questions on which the widest divergencies of opinion were possible. Should the scheme be voluntary or compulsory? Was it to include all employments? Was it to be contributory? That is, were the funds to be provided by the State entirely, or were either employers or employees, or both, to be called upon to contribute? Among the proletariat there were large numbers who considered that it was the duty of the state and the employers to make the whole provision; among the employers there were large numbers to whom it appeared extremely unjust that they should be called upon to contribute. On the other hand, opposition to Mr. Asquith's old-age pension scheme had mainly taken the ground that non-contributory schemes were demoralising and unfair to the thrifty. It was possible again to make out a case for the exclusion of sundry occupations, such as domestic service, from the operation of the scheme; and compulsion was objected to,

somewhat as in the case of the Employers' Liability Act, on the ground that it would be destructive of the existing friendly societies and would deprive their members of the benefits hitherto derived therefrom.

A measure which compelled the working man or woman to spend threepence or fourpence out of a scanty weekly wage on insurance, a measure which compelled employers to pay a similar sum per head for the insurance of their employees—such a measure was absolutely certain to be highly unpopular both with employers and with employees, unless and until experience should prove that the employees derived material benefits from it. The medical profession, too, was extremely ill-pleased with the arrangements made for medical service; and the members of friendly societies expected to find themselves mulcted of their contributions without obtaining any benefits which they did not already enjoy. The Opposition soon became convinced of the truth of two somewhat contradictory propositions; first, that the measure had been introduced in order to catch votes, and second, that its iniquities provided the best possible material for electioneering against the Government. The bill was passed in both Houses, though not without prolonged and strenuous opposition.

Opposition to the Act.

In connection with the Parliament Bill much discussion arose as to what was called the introduction of single chamber government. There was much advocacy of the doctrine that at least in the case of measures involving important constitutional changes, there ought to be some method of enforcing a direct appeal to the people on the particular subject by a *referendum* before such measures should become law. The Government, however, was definitely adverse, and the Opposition was by no means unanimous. It was argued that a government defeated on a referendum could no more remain in office than if it were defeated on a dissolution; and that the proposition practically amounted to this, that no measure of first-rate importance could be carried without an appeal to the country involving any number of other issues besides the particular measure. It was also more than doubtful

The referendum.

whether in the event of a referendum the people would bestir themselves to vote, and really to express their will, in the same way as at a general election.

In due course the government introduced the three measures which it regarded as of first importance; the Home Rule Bill, a bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Wales, and a bill for the abolition of plural voting. It was anticipated that the House of Lords would reject all the three measures, but that if the government remained in office the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment bills would automatically become law in 1914, and the Plural Voting Bill in 1915.

Three bills.

The Home Rule Bill provided for the establishment of an Irish legislature in Dublin, with an executive under its control. The Irish representation at Westminster was to be reduced to forty members. The intention was to effect such a devolution of powers as should be compatible with a corresponding but not identical devolution of powers for the self-government of Scotland, Wales, and England, the supremacy of the imperial parliament being secured. The strongest opposition was manifested by the Protestants of Ulster, who resented intensely the prospect of being placed under the control of a government conducted by a majority of Roman Catholics. It was also urged with vehemence that Irish Nationalists were at heart disloyal and hostile to the empire; that the bill would thrust out the loyal people of Ulster from the British empire; that Ulster at least should be excluded from the operation of the bill. It was answered that Irish loyalty to the empire would follow upon Home Rule as Dutch loyalty to the empire had followed upon the concession of self-government to the Boer colonies in South Africa; that Ulster was not being thrust out of the empire at all; and that if there was any reality in the fear of Roman Catholic domination in Ireland it was essential that the Protestantism of Ulster, and the immense political influence which it would be able to exercise in Ireland, should not be withdrawn by its separation from the rest of the country. It was urged also that the principle of devolution was based on

1912. The Home Rule Bill.

the recognition of national unity, that Ulster formed a part of the Irish national unity, and, finally, that even in Ulster there were only six counties (of which two were doubtful) where it could be claimed that Unionists were in a majority. Ulster, however, was unconvinced, and under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, Ulster Protestantism declared that it would offer armed resistance to government by an Irish legislature; while open declarations were forthcoming that the officers of the British army would refuse to be employed for the coercion of Ulster and would be justified in so doing.

The opposition to the bill.

The argument for the Welsh Disestablishment Bill was based upon the same principle of nationality. Assuming that Wales has a nationality distinct from England, Wales was entitled to decide for herself whether she regarded the Anglican Church as her national church and, if not, whether that Church's privileges and endowments should be continued. For thirty years the great majority of Welsh members sent to Westminster had demanded disestablishment; the great majority of the inhabitants of Wales were not Anglicans. It was therefore right that in accordance with the Welsh demand the Church in Wales should be disestablished and disendowed; always with due regard to life interests and to endowments since 1660, the year after which it might be considered that anything which had been given to the Church was intended specifically for the Anglican body. The Opposition claimed, as in the earlier case of the Irish Church, that the endowments did actually belong to the Church, that to take them away was robbery, that the Welsh people did not really desire disendowment, and, finally, that the Anglican Church in Wales could not be parted from the Anglican Church in England, of which ecclesiastically it was an integral portion. England and Wales were one, the Nationalist argument did not apply, and even if the Welsh wanted disestablishment they had no better title to claim separate treatment than Yorkshire or Cornwall.

Welsh disestablishment.

The Plural Voting Bill followed later. It had made a previous appearance, when it had been rejected by the House of Lords

as a party measure, introduced merely in order to cancel the extra voting power possessed by Unionists under the existing system; it was now supplemented by registration clauses to reduce the residential qualification required, thereby in effect conferring the vote on a large migratory labouring population. As before, the Unionists claimed that the sole object of the bill was to gain a party advantage by depriving the Opposition of votes to which they were entitled; while Liberals declared that the Opposition themselves could find no better justification for the existing system than the fact that it increased the number not of the voters but of the votes on their side.

Plural voting.

During 1911 there was a moment more critical than was generally known to the public at the time, when a war was barely averted. Differences between France and Germany in Morocco reached a very acute stage. It was understood that in certain circumstances of German aggression Britain would be bound to stand by France. Means were found of effecting a compromise which the two protagonists could accept without loss of dignity, and the danger passed. But the episode caused some anxiety in England, lest the *entente* should prove to be of a more compromising character than was desirable. As in the case of the agreement with Russia regarding Persia, there was murmuring in some Liberal quarters against Sir Edward Grey's conduct of foreign affairs. The time, however, was at hand when the foreign secretary was to give convincing proof of his capacity. In spite of the diplomatic efforts of the powers a great war broke out between Turkey and the Balkan states. It was then admitted on all hands that Sir Edward won the complete confidence of the foreign diplomatists, in a degree almost without parallel, by his tact, his unmistakable sincerity, his sane and clear judgment, his singleminded devotion to the interests not of one power or another, but of the community of nations; that to him far more than to any one else was due the prevention of a general conflagration.

Foreign affairs, 1911-13.

The government, as a government, remained obdurate to the

demand that it should commit itself to a measure extending the franchise to women. Moreover, to the great chagrin of many ardent supporters of that movement, the tide of opinion which appeared to be setting steadily in favour of votes for women received a serious set back from the development of the militant section; which started upon a course of irritating popular feeling by a reckless destruction of property apparently intended to terrorise the government. At the same time the authorities found themselves helpless in the attempt to punish the offenders, because, being women, they could not be treated with the same uncompromising severity which would have been meted out to offenders of the other sex. The economic problem was emphasised by the great strikes of 1911 and 1912 of railwaymen, coal-miners, and transport workers, which showed that the conflict between employers and employed might also very seriously involve the interests of the public at large. One edge of the problem was touched by the beginnings of legislation to establish a minimum wage, another aspect of it first by the budget of 1909, and again by the Insurance Act of 1911; the Tariff Reformers, too, had their own remedy to propose; but the problem of relating public control to the relations between employers and employed where they affect the public interest still remained to be faced.

Other problems.

The year 1914 seemed destined to witness a party struggle of unparalleled virulence. The Home Rule Bill and the Welsh Church Bill had both been twice carried in the Commons and twice rejected by the Lords. Both, if carried for the third time now, would automatically become law in accordance with the Parliament Act. The Plural Voting Bill still required to be carried twice in order to be in the same position; and it was certain that the government would not—if they could help it—dissolve before the plural voter had been eliminated. Over the Home Rule question the fiercest extremes of political passion were aroused. The Irish Nationalists saw the victory for which they had fought so long now almost within their grasp. Ulster Protestants, led by Sir Edward Carson, were grimly declaring that never under any circumstances would

1914. Home Rule.

Ulster submit to be governed by a Dublin parliament, and were hard at work arming and drilling volunteers in defiance of the law. English Unionists, hesitating to subscribe to the doctrine that a minority is entitled to offer armed resistance to the declared will of the majority, concentrated on the claim that the carrying of the Home Rule Bill by means of the Parliament Act was unconstitutional, and that armed resistance would be justifiable if the Act were passed without a previous general election. The earnest desire expressed in the king's speech that a settlement might be found in which all parties could make up their minds to acquiesce seemed by no means likely to be satisfied. The imminence of civil war was openly discussed.

The crisis.

As a basis of settlement, the Government introduced an amending bill which should enable the six predominantly Protestant Ulster counties to vote themselves temporarily out of the operation of the Home Rule Bill; the substantive Bill was carried through all its stages, though thrown out by the Lords. The Welsh Church Bill followed a like course; the Government pledged itself to place both measures on the Statute-book before the end of the session, but also, if possible, to pass amending bills concurrently. The Plural Voting Bill was for the second time passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. The budget introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer grappled with large questions of land reform, housing, and rural wages, and it was found necessary to drop a portion of it. The Home Rule Amending Bill, put forward by the Government and reluctantly accepted by the Irish Nationalists as a concession and a compromise, but denounced by the Opposition as an admission that the original bill was a bad one, and by Sir Edward Carson as a hypocritical sham, was returned by the Lords to the Commons in a completely transmuted form, wholly unacceptable to the Government. A conference held between the party leaders at Buckingham Palace, at the instance of the Crown, exercised in a strictly constitutional manner, failed to produce any agreement. Once more a crisis of abnormal acuteness seemed to be imminent; when the whole scene was suddenly and completely transformed at one stroke by occurrences wholly unconnected with the party issue.

At the end of June the British public, absorbed in the Irish question, had received with only a casual interest the news of the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, heir-apparent of the Austrian crown. Towards the end of July, it was surprised to learn that Austria had issued an ultimatum to Servia, where it appeared that the assassination plot had been hatched. Russia protested against the arbitrary treatment of Servia and threatened to mobilise. Sir Edward Grey endeavoured to procure the intervention of the four great powers not directly concerned—Germany, France, Italy, and Britain—to prevent a war, or at the worst to localise it. Germany, declaring that her treaty obligations to Austria prevented her from taking the concerted action suggested, and would compel her to support Austria if attacked by Russia, at the same time professed to be making earnest efforts to effect an agreement between Russia and Austria. France and Italy both favoured Sir Edward Grey's proposal, but it seemed almost certain that if war should break out, France would be involved by her obligations to Russia, and possibly Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance. Apparently, nobody wanted war, but every one was to be dragged into war by treaty obligations, because Servia fostered conspirators. It seemed incredible that counsels of peace and common sense should not prevail, but if they failed, would it be possible for Britain to stand on one side? And if Britain were involved, what part would she play?

The thunderclap.

On the instant, patriotism and public spirit rose to the occasion. There was no shadow of doubt that Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office commanded the national confidence as no other man could do, irrespective of party. By mutual consent, all debatable questions were suspended; nothing was to be done by which ministers could be in any degree hampered. Only in one quarter, amongst the most advanced Radicals, was there a suspicion that the foreign minister had perhaps unduly committed the country to France by treaty obligations, and was not sufficiently zealous for the preservation of British neutrality. Ten days after the first realised indications of a possible war, the last doubt had been dispelled. Every breath of discord was

Unity.

stilled. Events marched with a startling swiftness. On 28th July, the British public was hardly thinking of modifying its holiday arrangements. On the next day it awoke to a sensible disturbance of business. On August 1st it had not quite lost the last hope of peace, but on that day Germany declared war upon Russia. On August 3rd Germany declared war on France. On August 4th Germany violated her own guarantee of Belgian neutrality, and Great Britain declared war on Germany, the French and British declaration of war with Austria following on August 10th and 12th, 1914. The prime minister's statement in the House of Commons on August 4th removed the last shred of doubt that while every effort had been made to preserve peace honourably, every obligation of truth, justice, and honour, European freedom, even our own national existence, compelled us to war—a war the most tremendous, the most critical, and the most righteous in the annals of mankind. How magnificently that great appeal was answered from every quarter of the empire needs not to be told here; upon the history of the war itself, still in progress, we cannot now enter.

NOTE

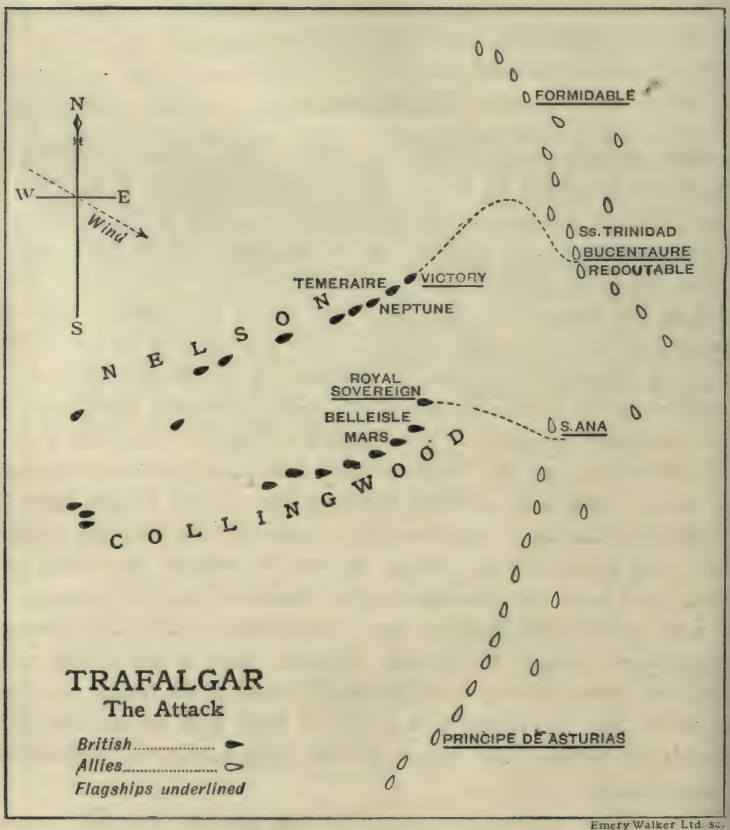
TRAFALGAR

A VERY recently issued Admiralty report on the evidence relating to the tactics employed by Nelson at Trafalgar has made it possible to give with more confidence than heretofore an account of the movements on the morning of 21st October and the beginnings of the engagement.

The two fleets sighted each other at daybreak. The British were lying to the west of the combined fleet, which was heading approximately from north to south towards Cape Trafalgar on its way to the Straits of Gibraltar from Cadiz. Villeneuve, on the *Bucentaure*, and the Spanish admiral Lavala, on the *Santa Anna*, with some ships between them, occupied the centre. The Spanish admiral Gravina was at the head of the line, and the French admiral Dumanoir in the rear division. As soon as Villeneuve saw from the movement of the British ships in the distance that an engagement was imminent and that the British attack was apparently directed on his rear, he ordered the whole line to wear and reverse its direction, so that what had been the rear became the van ; and the fleet began to move northwards towards Cadiz instead of southwards towards the Straits. Another effect of the change, executed with some difficulty owing to the lightness of the breeze, was that the whole line or column took a curved form with its concave side towards the British. The movement was being carried out from about 8 A.M to 10 A.M.

When Nelson sighted the enemy his fleet was not in regular formation. But in accordance with his previous intention he signalled to form order of sailing in two columns, and immediately afterwards, without waiting to complete the formation, to sail on the east-north-east course as though to attack the enemy's rear, shortly afterwards changing the direction to due east. Villeneuve was then still moving southward. The wind was west-north-west, Nelson himself, on the *Victory*,

commanding the windward or northern column, and Collingwood, on the *Royal Sovereign*, commanding the leeward or southern column, the two columns following approximately a parallel course at about a mile apart, the French line being some five miles long. Villeneuve's change of direction enabled Nelson to carry out precisely the method of attack



which he had outlined twelve days before. Collingwood's division was to engage what was now the enemy's rear—striking the line at the twelfth ship from the rear—which it was to be his business to destroy. Nelson's division, on the other hand, was at once to cut off and contain the van, striking the line at about the tenth ship, and to crush the centre, with Villeneuve's flagship. It was anticipated that the enemy's centre and

rear would already be broken up and shattered before their van could manœuvre to come to their assistance. Collingwood was left a free hand, subject to orders which he might receive from the admiral, to carry out his part of the operation.

The two columns advanced approximately in line ahead, each ship in the wake of its leader, and getting into position as the column advanced. The course then became north-easterly as the enemy moved northwards. Nelson's column continued in 'line ahead'; Collingwood's changed to 'line of bearing,' so that each ship would come up not behind her leader but abreast. Collingwood, on the *Royal Sovereign*, engaged the *Santa Anna* twenty minutes before any other ship came into action. Nelson appeared to be directing his attack to the centre of the enemy's van where Dumanoir's flagship was, and a cannonade opened; but a few minutes later the *Victory* changed her course so as to make for the head of the centre where was Villeneuve's flagship which he could not engage. Passing under the *Bucentaure's* stern, his broadside raked her, but he was prevented by another ship from engaging her. The ships following him fell upon the *Bucentaure* and the great ship next ahead of her, the *Santissima Trinidad*, while the *Victory* was engaged by the *Redoubtable*. It was about half an hour later that Nelson received his mortal wound. The two British columns had closed upon the combined fleet not at right angles to it but on a north-easterly course, the course of that fleet being northerly; and owing to the concavity of the enemy's line, Collingwood's column was able to attack the leading ships of the rear almost simultaneously, the series of his ships being almost opposite to the series of the allied ships. Nelson's plan was therefore carried out with precision. Collingwood's column crushed the enemy's rear; Nelson's column crushed the enemy's centre and kept a grip on part of the van, the rest of which was unable to come into action and only attempted to do so when it was already too late.

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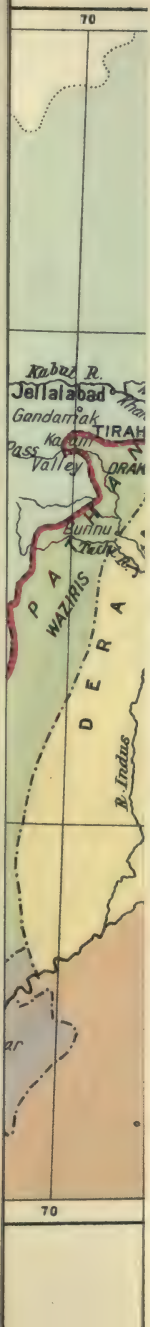
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